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Fleet Dispute Allows Ukraine To 'Act Tough'

PM0806094393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 1

[Special correspondent Aleksandr Golts report: "'Sevastopol Waltz' Is Not Danced Alone"]

[Text] Kiev-Sevastopol-Moscow—If the purpose of the trip to Sevastopol by the Russian and Ukrainian foreign ministers was to elucidate the situation in which the Black Sea Fleet and its chief base find themselves, it was more than fulfilled. They will hardly forget the words, full of bitter irony, of the officer who greeted them on board the large ASW ship Kerch. He said that there are people who have taken four different oaths serving on the ship. Officers and warrant officers took an oath to the USSR, some seamen to the CIS, others to Ukraine, and yet others to Russia. The slogans with which several hundred demonstrators greeted the ministers on the Grafskaya Dock clearly indicated the frame of mind of people in Sevastopol. "Crimea, Russia, or death!" they chanted. Meetings with local administration leaders and fleet command personnel were calmer. But they too attested that the situation is only being kept under control by the restraint and dignity of people trained to do their duty under any conditions.

Andrey Kozyrev and his Ukrainian colleague Anatoliy Zlenko wanted to find a way out of the situation caused when the crews of Black Sea Fleet auxiliary vessels raised the St. Andrew's flag, but this did not happen. The talks in Kiev and Sevastopol, in which Admiral Feliks Gromov, commander in chief of the Russian Navy, also participated, proceeded with great difficulty. As far as it is possible to understand from the ministers' statements, the sphere of accord extends at present only to obvious things. For example, neither side wants to see two fleets in the Black Sea, with relations between them less than friendly. Naturally, both Moscow and Kiev say that they have no wish to create a situation whereby seamen have to choose which country to serve.

The Ukrainian minister, however, ignored Andrey Kozyrev's statement to the effect that "Russia has no intention of leaving Sevastopol" and that "the partition or reorganization of the fleet will require a long period of transition." The idea of Russia's taking a long-term lease on part of the naval base and the shore installations was not developed either. On the contrary, Anatoliy Zlenko emphasized: The crisis with the St. Andrew's flags requires the partition of the fleet to be accelerated.

It is perfectly obvious that there are still serious differences in the positions of Moscow and Kiev. What the ministers stated is still more significant: They themselves are unlikely to succeed in removing these contradictions. All hope now lies with an urgent meeting of the presidents, who must display political will and adopt imaginative decisions capable of unblocking the situation. Nothing is being said about the essence of such decisions.

The diplomats' extreme caution and their utterly bland replies leave the journalist the opportunity to expound his own view of what is happening. I believe that all the difficulties associated with deciding the Black Sea Fleet's future arise out of the fact that the sides are pursuing different and, at times, directly opposite ends. The situation is not being assessed from the viewpoint of ensuring security but is examined, above all, through the prism of internal politics. It is no secret that the Ukrainian leadership is not having the best of times right now. It is obvious that sooner or later Kiev will have to yield to pressure from the world community and abandon its attempts to preserve its nuclear status. In that case, the president and the government will inevitably be accused of betraying national interests.

Under these conditions the Black Sea Fleet problem gives Kiev a favorable opportunity to act tough toward Moscow and to make at least some political capital out of doing so. The constantly hardening position also presupposes a lengthy debate, which puts off the need for even a small effort on Kiev's part with regard to financing the fleet and providing material and technical support.

As for Russia, it is in a difficult position. On the one hand it cannot ignore the calls for help issuing from the city which was the symbol of our naval glory. Moscow cannot ignore the situation of uncertainty about the future and the almost overt poverty in which navy men find themselves. On the other hand, however, Russia would not want to provide grounds for charges of interfering in the internal affairs of a neighboring state.

The fact remains that the sparse accord that was found was not even enough for a brief joint statement on the results of the talks. It only remains to hope that there will be a breakthrough at the presidents' meeting. At present the copy of the famous painting by—I note—a Russian artist "The Zaporozhtsy Write a Letter to the Turkish Sultan," which hangs in the lobby of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, remains a symbol of Kiev's relationship with Moscow. For the time being Russia is keeping calm. But this calm is not infinite. Because it involves more than just the country's prestige. It is a question of the destinies of thousands upon thousands of people. As we known, you cannot dance the waltz on your own. The "Sevastopol waltz" is no exception.

Central Asia Rights Group Targets 'Torture' of Newsmen

PM0706133793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Georgiy Ivanov-Smolenskiy report: "Repression of Tajik Journalists Should Be Halted"]

[Text] The Society for Promoting the Defense of Human Rights in Central Asia and Kazakhstan has adopted appeals to Presidents Askar Akayev and Saparmurad Niyazov of Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan. Both appeals

concern the fate of the Tajik journalists arrested on these republics' territory and handed over to Tajikistan's special services.

The appeal to A. Akayev says that the only fault of television journalists Akhmadshokh Komilov, Khayriddin Kosymov, and Khurshed Nazarov, arrested in Kyrgyzstan back in January, was that they brought objective news to their viewers. Their state of health, the appeal points out, had significantly deteriorated after torture was used on them. "Doctors' visits to them are not permitted and they are being systematically beaten up."

The human rights defenders from Central Asia and Kazakhstan consider that Kyrgyzstan, on whose territory the journalists were arrested, bears responsibility for the fate of these prisoners of conscience, and they appeal to President A. Akayev to do everything he can to have them set free.

The appeal to President S. Niyazov is connected with the arrest in Ashgabat in January of this year of Mirbobo Mirrakhimov, former chairman of Tajikistan People's Radio and Television. He, like his colleagues, was handed over to the Tajik special services, although his actions lacked a corpus delicti or anything at all that was in conflict with Turkmenistan's legislation.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 8 Jun

LD0806080493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0749 GMT 8 Jun 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—The Russian press continues to highlight the proceedings of the constitutional conference in Moscow. Commenting on its first day, the newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA notes that the walkout of the speaker of the Russian parliament and a "handful of his supporters was unable to torpedo the forum's work". The newspaper quotes Sergey Filatov, head of the presidential administration, who said that its was an "open challenge". "The work done by Khasbulatov during his tours across Russia showed that his team was planning to block the conference," he said. "Although the conference's procedure was worked out long ago, no proposals were received from the parliament. Moreover, we did not know whether the leaders of the parliament would attend the conference or not."

"Ruslan Khasbulatov's vigorous attempt to address the conference, on the one hand, and the forum's stormily negative reaction to his demarche, on the other, added up to confirm the worst apprehensions that the keynote of the first day of the conference was set by advocates of an uncompromising confrontation," the daily KRASNAYA ZVEZDA says, elaborating on the same subject. It presents the view of Oleg Rumyantsev, secretary of the parliamentary Constitutional Commission, who believes that there were chances to finalise the commission's draft, but the constitutional process was complicated by the appearance of an alternative draft.

The newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA frontpages the statement, which the head of the Russian parliament was unable to read out at the conference. It says, in particular, that the "Supreme Soviet regards this conference as an important function on the way to the elaboration of a Russian constitution". At the same time, it notes that the presidential draft of the fundamental law contains unrealistic demands, namely to "establish an unlimited presidential system, which will reduce to nought all the proclaimed human liberties and the independent judiciary, will destroy the very principle of the division of powers".

The newspapers frontpage an appeal to the citizens of the Russian Federation, signed by about 50 leaders of representative bodies of the subjects of the Russian Federation, who are taking part part in the work of the constitutional conference. The document says in part that "the so-called democrats pursue the purpose of giving the president unlimited powers and destroying the people's rule", which is being done under the guise of work on a new constitution.

"Of course, I want to have one common draft constitution. But if we see that confrontation is being imposed upon us, we shall call a congress and raise the question of holding a referendum on three drafts," Khasbulatov told the newspaper PRAVDA. His interview is published in today's issue of the daily.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA frontpages an article on the Black Sea Fleet problem, noting that "the situation is still under control only due to the levelheadedness and dignity of men, taught to discharge their duty in any condition". Reporting on the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border, the newspaper says that Tajik armed units of the Islamic Revival Party, entrenched in Afghanistan, "are apparently carrying on active preparations for a large-scale action".

Under the captain "the constitutional conference as seen by its participants", the newspaper ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI publishes, among others, the view of Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray. "The constitutional conference," he believes, "is not a congress. There is no such concept as quorum there. Our status is consultative. We shall approve or reject amendments by a simple majority vote. As to procedural rules, they may be changed whenever this is needed."

The same newspaper believes that the "stormy beginning of the constitutional conference only proves that it is necessary to continue work on the draft constitution of a new Russia".

The newspaper TRUD analyses the growth of wages in Russia. It says that they grew faster than prices in april. It notes that due to this the differentiation of incomes is becoming impermissibly large in Russia. The gap between high- and low-paid categories of workers has already increased 20-fold (the figure for December was 16). "Carried away by populism, the directors of many enterprises, who are intoxicated by freedom and complete absence of control, try to 'pump over' as much money as possible into wages, overlooking the future of their enterprise, the needs of its development, and investments. They adhere to the principle 'after us the deluge'. This pumping over of money only spurs up inflation," the newspaper says.

ROK Foreign Minister Meets Kozyrev, Yeltsin

Kozyrev Greets Minister

LD0706141593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1355 GMT 7 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Boris Krivoshey and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow June 7 TASS—"The time has come to usher in a new stage in relations and cooperation between Russia and the Republic of Korea," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev believes.

Greeting the South Korean foreign minister before the opening of Russo-South Korean talks at the Russian Foreign Ministry here today, he noted that relations between the two countries were making steady progress of late, which is borne out by the recently concluded treaty on the principles of relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Korea. After the advent of the new administration in Seoul, both countries are trying to deepen them still more, which opens up good opportunities and prospects for further progress in this direction," the minister said. Ratification instruments, putting into force the Russo-South Korean bilateral treaty, were exchanged after the negotiations.

Kozyrev Warns of 'Tough Obstacles'

LD0706125593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1233 GMT 7 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Boris Krivoshey and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Moscow June 7 TASS—"The Russian Federation and South Korea are fully determined to build up positive potential of deepening bilateral relations," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said at a ceremony of the exchange of instruments of ratification on putting a bilateral treaty on fundamentals of relations between the two countries into effect.

Assessing the results of his talks with South Korean Foreign Minister Han Sung-chu, Kozyrev said that the sides "had an interesting exchange of opinions on a number of international issues, including on the problem of the inadmissibility of undermining a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the return of North Korea into the framework of this treaty."

For his part, Han Sung-chu said that there are no problems between Russia and South Korea and that the two countries are seeking to develop bilateral relations and cooperate in the international arena." Both sides voiced a unanimous opinion that it is necessary that North Korea resume its membership in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Asked about Russia's actions on North Korea's return to the framework of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, Kozyrev said that Russia was taking actions at an international level, discussing this issue at the U.N. Security Council, at the IAEA and with North Korea directly. "It should be clear to Pyongyang that we consider the violation of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and withdrawal from the treaty inadmissible and hope that the North Korean leadership will review its decision. On the way of distancing itself from this treaty, North Korea will face increasingly tough obstacles from the whole international community, including Russia," Kozyrev said.

Yeltsin Receives Han Sung-chu

LD0806105293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1015 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, 8 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, today received Han Sung-chu, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Korea. The development of ties between Russia and the Republic of Korea and some aspects of the situation on the Korean peninsula were discussed in the course of the conversation, the presidential press service reports.

Han Sung-chu handed a message from Korean President Kim Yong-sam to the Russian president. Boris Yeltsin gave the Korean foreign minister a message addressed to the president of the Republic of Korea and confirmed his invitation for Kim Yong-sam to come to Russia on an official visit in 1993.

Russia To Sell Modern Technology Programs to ROK

SK0806093093 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1200 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] South Korea is planning to purchase about 40 modern technological programs from Russia. This was made public in Seoul where a conference of delegations of scientific and technological associations from Russia and South Korea was held.

The participants of the conference pointed out that more than 30 cases of contracts, which were already concluded, are now in the stage of practical application.

A program of establishing a series of South Korean scientific research centers in Russia, where Russian experts will also participate, has been planned.

In a statement, South Korean Minister of Science and Technology Kim Si-chung noted that Russia has highly successful know-hows in domains of basic science and of highest-caliber precision technological process that South Korea requires.

Russo-Japan Economic Conference Chairmen on Meeting

OW0806051993 Moscow Radio Moscow in Japanese 1100 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Report on interviews with chairman of the Japan-Russia Economic Committee Isamu Yamashita, and

chairman of the League of Russian Industrialists Arkadiy Volskiy by Radio Moscow reporter Pedorov; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] As we announced before, the first Russia-Japan and Japan-Russia joint economic conference, the largest economic meeting between Russia and Japan in the past two years, started on 2 June in Moscow. As many as 300 Russian and Japanese representatives attended the joint conference. The Japanese delegation included representatives of major Japanese companies such as Mitsui Engineering & Shipbuilding Company, Toyota Motor Company and Komatsu Ltd. The joint conference is studying issues regarding the poor state of Russian-Japanese economic relations from a variety of viewpoints. Such wide-ranging issues as privatization, financing and investment, energy matters and [words indistinct] are being discussed at the conference. Reporter Pedorov of Radio Moscow's Japanese Unit interviewed Japanese representative Isamu Yamashita, and Russian representative Arkadiy Volskiy asking, among other things, how the joint conference is progressing and if the directors of both countries' economic councils are satisfied with the conduct of the joint conference.

First, please listen to the interview with Russian representative Arkadiy Volskiy, who is also chairman of the League of Russian Industrialists.

[Begin Volskiy recording, in Russian fading into Japanese translation] I do not know how I can express my feelings but I am very satisfied with the joint conference because industrialists of both sides deepened their friendly relations. In addition, both sides are entering a stage which can be called [word indistinct]. I thought that important work could not be accomplished at the conference hall, but rather in company lobbies during the Japanese delegations' visits to our companies, or during conversations among businessmen. My friend Yamashita and I are sure that this conference will be a major step toward [word indistinct] of reciprocal ties between the two countries.

Moreover, I am very glad that I was able to be one of the representatives; 150 representatives of major Japanese companies and firms located in areas near the Far East region are visiting Moscow for the conference. Officials of national organizations, including the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, and Japanese Ambassador to Russia Edamura are also attending the conference. It is important to note that deputy foreign ministers are also holding a political meeting. The development of ties between Russia and Japan and the issue of realizing President Yeltsin's visit to Japan are being studied at the deputy foreign ministers' meeting.

I would like to talk a little about the Russian delegation. About 150 people are attending the conference. Deputy Prime Ministers (?Lobov and Soskovets), other ministers and [word indistinct], and representatives of transportation companies, state organizations and [word indistinct] are also at the conference. Moreover, individual meetings are being held regarding cooperation in the Far East region. I am repeating myself but, on the whole, I am very satisfied with the practical atmosphere of this conference. [end recording]

Thus spoke chairman Volskiy, who acts as a representative of the Russian side. Next, we will broadcast the interview with Chairman Yamashita of the Japan-Russia Economic Committee.

[Begin recording] [Yamashita] Well, we have exchanged frank opinions. The meeting has been very fruitful because the initial goal of having thorough mutual discussion was attained. I think it has not been a festival-like meeting but a productive working-level meeting. I hope from the bottom of my heart that various concrete issues will be discussed among concerned people in the future.

[Pedorov] Political discussions on Russo-Japanese ties are also very important but discussions among concerned people are indispensable.

[Yamashita] I agree. [passage omitted] [end recording]

You have just heard the remarks of Yamashita, chairman of the Japanese delegation.

This conference ends on 4 June.

Chinese Fishermen Violate Russian Border

OW0706142793 Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian 0500 GMT 2 Jun 93

[By A. Chekhov; from the "Dalniy Vostok" program]

[Text] [Chekhov] The section of the Russian-Chinese state border protected by soldiers of the Far East border district lies mainly along the Amur river and its tributaries. Most border guard posts control both land and water border zones. Therefore, we have traveled by river to reach the excellent-rated border guard post commanded by Captain Pavel Savin. We could personally verify that situation at the border was far from being calm. Chinese fishermen pester our border guards with their constant infringements.

[Begin recording] [Savin] They approach the shore with their [word indistinct]. There is nothing we can do because after we chase them away, they just come back. Their own border guards appear to take no action at all in guarding their border. Either they encourage this, or they pretend not to notice that the fishermen constantly violate the border.

[Chekhov] I have heard that they behave quite aggressively, that they throw stones sometimes, and that they install some special equipment on their boats.

[Savin] Yes, there are cases like this. They throw stones, bolts, nuts, hammers, and axes. Recent information

indicates that they weld some kind of spears to their boats on fore and aft, so that a patrol boat practically cannot approach them.

[Chekhov] How can all this, all these violations, be dealt with?

[Savin] First, border demarcation will be conducted in the near future. Secondly, their border guards should also control border violations somehow. [end recording]

[Chekhov] Indeed, one can only hope that the future border demarcation will help solve the problem of the Chinese fishermen. Meanwhile, lads in spotted uniform carry on their duty of protecting Russia's borders.

Details of 'Plan No.2' for Balkan Settlement Outlined

MK0806094493 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 10

[Andrey Yedemskiy report: "Russia's Balkan Policy. Moscow Draws Up New Plan for Yugoslav Settlement"]

[Text] Last Saturday [5 June], Croatian President Franjo Tudjman stopped over in Moscow, on his way to China, to exchange views with Vitaliy Churkin, the Russian president's special representative. Speaking with your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent, Churkin emphasized that the reason for Russia's stepped-up diplomatic activity to bring a settlement to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia was the country's desire to agree with the world community on "some specific ideas" worked out by Moscow "in the wake of the Vance-Owen plan," and said that Russia would put forward a new series of initiatives in the near future. It is expected that their definitive version will be made public by Andrey Kozyrev on 11 June in Athens.

After the consultations, which took place at Moscow's Sheremetyevo-1 airport, the Croatian president highly appreciated "the objective approach of Russian diplomacy" to the conflict. He noted that Zagreb's contacts with Moscow were "even closer" than those with Bonn, and, given a lack of "joint views of Europe and the United States on a solution to the crisis," Russian diplomacy "may play a leading role."

After Tudjman's departure for Beijing, Vitaliy Churkin, speaking with your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent, highly appreciated "the unequivocal statement" by the Croatian president about Croatia's agreement to accept foreign observers on its border with Bosnia. A tentative agreement on the subject was received during Churkin's latest visit to Zagreb, and now Moscow is "very glad" that Tudjman "continues to defend this idea vigorously." In a Sheremetyevo-1 press conference, Tudjman said that a settlement in Bosnia was possible only "on the basis of a confederative solution," hinting at that point at Moscow's support. At the same time, KOMMERSANT-DAILY learned from informed sources at the Russian Foreign Ministry that President Tudjman was "somewhat carried away"—for the world community has reached consensus on the two basic elements to the settlement: the maintenance of the single republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Vance-Owen plan. Therefore, it is important today not to undermine these two premises as a basis for the settlement, although "other proposals should not be discarded, either."

Last weekend cleared up the outlines of the so-called "Russian plan No. 2," which, as Andrey Kozyrev said in the Itogi telecast Sunday, was, in effect, being implemented in the form of UN Security Council resolutions on putting into operation the mechanism for holding a tribunal to investigate crimes against humanity, and also on strengthening security zones in Bosnia. According to Kozyrev, Russia is carrying out "a multi-dimensional work" both in the United Nations and among the conflicting parties, but is doing so not for the sake of "the struggle for leadership," but for the purpose of settlement, which is in everyone's interest.

[Article includes the following boxed passage]

Some provisions of the Russian plan No. 2 (according to reports from the Russian Foreign Ministry):

—the need to act within the framework of a mechanism worked out by Vance and Owen;

—the need for continuing and close cooperation with all the conflicting parties;

—the enlargement of the existing "security zones" in Bosnia;

—the restriction of "the activity of extremists of all three sides;"

—the adoption of a UN Security Council resolution on monitoring all Bosnian borders (at the initial stage with Serbia, at the next one with Croatia) with Russian observers participating in the effort;

—helping Belgrade to continue its course toward a political dialogue, worked out under President Dobrica Cosic;

—the need for getting an acknowledgement from the Albanian leaders of Kosovo that Kosovo is part of Serbia.

'Clarification' on Leaders' June U.S. Visits

PM0706143193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Aleksandr Shalnev report followed by editorial office "Clarification": "Mass Government Landing Party in United States Unlikely"]

[Text] Washington—"Exactly half the Russian Federation Cabinet of Ministers" is intending to travel to the

University of Maryland near Washington in mid-June, the university's press secretariat has announced enthusiastically.

The following members of the government will be attending—I quote from the secretariat's announcement: Vice Premiers Anatoliy Chubays, Sergey Shakhray, and Aleksandr Shokhin, and in addition the ministers of ecology and natural resources, health, fuel and power, and agriculture and food.

Add to this the mayors of Moscow and St. Petersburg and the president and vice president of the Russian Academy of the National Economy, and the reasons for the University of Maryland's enthusiasm are clear. What other academic institution could succeed in inviting over half of a foreign country's government?!

To what end? For the purpose—and I quote the press release further—of imparting "a new stimulus to the mutually advantageous development of business in Russia by organizing discussions between the leaders of the U.S. and Russian commercial communities regarding possible U.S. business expansion in the former Soviet Union."

The aim is clearly attractive and very necessary. But there are several facts that worry me. First, judging from the university's announcement, nobody from U.S. Government circles will be attending this dialogue, and, as the events of the last few years show, America's business community is not overly keen to talk to our business community on a practical level without a clear signal from the administration in Washington.

Second, it is high time that our leaders learned to appreciate their own worth. U.S. Cabinet members, let alone the vice president—the approximate equivalent of our vice premiers—would never dream of traveling to Russia either together or separately on an invitation even from our very best universities.

Third, according to information at my disposal, Premier Chernomyrdin and presidential apparatus head Filatov are also getting ready for U.S. visits in mid-June, and Defense Minister Grachev is planning to travel there at the end of June. Can it really be true that there will be no unresolved problems left at home?

Let me note as well that many of the restrictions that were lifted from China long ago still apply to us, including the Jackson-Vanik amendment. At the Vancouver summit meeting Clinton solemnly and publicly promised to "tackle these questions robustly and immediately." Since then, two months have gone by and there has been practically no progress. There would have been if pressure had been brought to bear on Clinton by business circles. Not much has. And the administration itself has not had time to address this issue, its paramount concern at the present time being the "domestic" economy.

And last but not least: If half the government has been invited over here, who will be left to run the show at home? [Shalnev ends]

The editorial office has learned that our Washington correspondent's information has a factual basis, but major clarifications are needed.

The conference at the University of Maryland 11-12 June is the latest event in the so-called series of "meetings with the Russian Government." On our side, preparations for participation in this conference have been made over several months under the guidance of Academician A. Aganbegyan. The aforementioned members of the Russian Federation Government have indeed been invited to the conference, as well as the mayors of Moscow and St. Petersburg. But this certainly does not mean that they will all really be traveling to the United States.

It is already possible to say with a fair degree of certainty that Yu. Luzhkov and A. Sobchak will not be going. The former because he needs treatment and rest following his illness, and the latter because he has declined the invitation owing to pressure of work, specifically in connection with his participation in the Constitutional Conference.

Regarding the members of the government, according to reports from apparatus personnel the question of a "mass landing party" of ministers and vice premiers bound for foreign lands has not yet been examined and is on the whole unlikely. In any event V. Kvasov, chief of the prime minister's secretariat, stated that at the date of writing (3 June) he knows nothing about any such trip. At the same time Kvasov and other apparatus staff have confirmed that preparations are under way for a Chernomyrdin visit to the United States, arranged earlier, starting 13 June. The visit is designed to immediately implement the Vancouver accords between Presidents B. Yeltsin and W. Clinton on cooperation in the spheres of the power industry, space, and investments. Our premier will discuss these issues with the U.S. vice president. Chernomyrdin's delegation, in line with the topics that will be discussed at the upcoming talks, should include Vice Premier A. Shokhin and the ministers of fuel and power, ecology and natural resources, and also agriculture.

The timing of the departure of V. Chernomyrdin's delegation theoretically makes it possible for its members to simultaneously attend the University of Maryland conference, provided they fly out to the United States two or three days earlier. This intention could only be confirmed, however, in respect of A. Shokhin, who can indeed fly out earlier if domestic matters permit him to do so.

Among the Russian Federation Government vice premiers in addition to Shokhin, A. Chubays also intends to take part in the conference, his apparatus confirmed. S. Shakhray's trip is practically ruled out for the same

reason as prevents A. Sobchak from going—the Constitutional Conference. Incidentally, this could also exert a last-minute influence on next week's departure overseas of all the other ranking Russian figures.

The information obtained in the government apparatus regarding Russian participation in the conference at the U.S. university does not entirely match the information received from the Russian Federation Government Academy of the National Economy under Aganbegyan. For some reason the Academy is convinced that almost all the invitees are going except for two or three people.

Finally, Russian Federation Defense Minister P. Grachev's U.S. visit is planned and scheduled for 20 June. Presidential apparatus head S. Filatov also plans to travel to Washington at the invitation of his colleague—the White House chief of staff—nearer the end of the month.

We can basically rely on the fact that over the coming weeks our state "management team" will not be denuded after all, and the vast majority of ministers and other top functionaries will be staying at home.

Humanitarian Aid for Abkhazia Suspended

LD0806105893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Today, the Russian Federation again suspended indefinitely its humanitarian action aiding civilians in the zone of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict. Negotiations between representatives of the Russian committee for emergencies and the Governments of Georgia and Abkhazia have reached a deadlock.

Yuriy Vorobyev [first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Civil Defence, Emergency Situations, and Dealing with the Consequences of Natural Disasters] will be in Sochi today. He is planning to hold negotiations in Sukhumi and Gudauta tomorrow.

Foreign Ministry Urges Abkhazia Cease-Fire

LD0706142193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1248 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, 7 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation appealed today to the political leadership and military command of both sides in the conflict in Abkhazia to ensure an immediate ceasefire and to create all the conditions necessary for the provision of humanitarian aid, thus demonstrating genuine responsibility for the population's fate and a desire for a settlement to the conflict.

The statement by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs notes that the government of the Russian Federation adopted the decision to provide the affected population in the conflict zone in Abkhazia regardless of nationality or religious belief out of humane and merciful considerations. The necessary financial means and material and technical resources for this were allocated. The organization of food and medicine supplies and the evacuation of the sick, children, the elderly, and women were entrusted to qualified specialists of the State Committee for Emergencies of Russia who carried out all the preparatory work and began this humanitarian operation with the consent of the sides involved.

However, the violation of the ceasefire agreements in Abkhazia and the barbaric attempts to shoot down civilian helicopters delivering peaceful goods are forcing flights to be halted, the statement reads.

The population in the conflict zone is waiting for aid. Russia, the UN, and other international organizations are intently following the implementation of these actions. They would like to see in them the beginning of positive processes that would ultimately lead to a comprehensive settlement of the conflict and to the resumption of harmony between fraternal peoples, the statement reads.

Commentary on Ukraine's Failure To Ratify START

LD0706164493 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Unattributed commentary including recorded remarks made by Oleg Sokolov, Russian Defense Ministry executive to correspondent Yuriy Solton; Sokolov speaks in Russian fading to English translation]

[Text] A two-day debate in the Ukrainian Parliament has failed to dispel apprehension that Ukraine may be willing to keep its finger on the nuclear button. One hundred and seventy six intercontinental multiple charge missiles and two units of strategic bomber planes are still stationed on Ukrainian territory. The Ukrainian nuclear potential exceeds by far the summary nuclear potential of China, Britain, and France. Along with Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan entered the first treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons a year ago. As well as other former Soviet nuclear republics, it pledged to ratify the START I and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty by the year's end and only last week the Ukrainian Parliament focused on that matter.

Only next fall at the earliest it may be expected to decide whether it will ratify. Procrastination (?with) the ratification of the START I translates into more delays on the road for a nuclear disarmament and the postponed ratification of the START II. Kiev sees insufficient security guarantees as the main stumbling block but all the nuclear powers have already offered nuclear guarantees to Ukraine. Kiev says it cannot afford to dismantle the nuclear missiles. True, it is not even technically equipped to do the dismantling job. The nuclear missiles are to be destroyed in Russia. Kiev wants a share of enriched Uranium which will be released in the dismantling process, but Kiev has made no response to what Russia suggested as an acceptable solution to this

problem. Excesses of big power mentality rather than economic interests seem to be hindering the ratification.

On the eve of his talks with the Ukrainian leaders on the nuclear problem, U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin said his country could mediate Russian-Ukrainian nuclear negotiations. What is needed more than mediating efforts is an unambiguous declaration that further procrastination is inadmissible.

In an interview with Yuriy Solton of Radio Moscow, an executive of the Russian Foreign Ministry, Oleg Sokolov, said the Ukrainian position produces a telling effect on nuclear disarmament.

[Sokolov] Further moves are naturally hinged on the Ukrainian ratification of the START I. The Russian Foreign Ministry assumes the treaty will be ratified and Ukraine will act to fulfill its international commitments. As regards Russia, this country is doing its utmost to facilitate the ratification. Time for Ukraine to take action.

Georgians Delay Team's Flight to Crash Site

PM0706101593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Valeriy Yakov report: "For Seven Days Rescue Workers Prevented From Reaching Helicopter Crew Who Died"]

[Text] A Russian helicopter carrying a cargo of humanitarian aid was brought down 24 May near the village of Sakeni in Gulrilshskiy Rayon in Abkhazia. All five crew members died. However, it was only 31 May that a group of rescue workers from the Russian State Committee for Affairs of Civil Defense, Emergency Situations, and Elimination of Natural Disasters was able to reach the scene of the tragedy and remove the bodies of those who died.

Staffers of the State Committee for Affairs of Civil Defense, Emergency Situations, and Elimination of Natural Disasters received news of the tragedy practically on the day the helicopter crashed on the outskirts of the Abkhazian village. It soon became possible to establish that the helicopter belonged to the Yermolinskiy Test Flight Center in the city of Balabanovo in Kaluga Oblast, and was hired by the Cherkessk firm "Kuryer" to supply a cargo of humanitarian aid—four tonnes of flour and medicines—to Tkvarcheli. The route was not agreed with the Georgian firing points—and there were around 10 of them on the flight route. As a result, the helicopter was brought down and crashed, burying five people under the debris—crew commander Nikolay Kasimov, the aviation enterprise squadron commander Leonid Chubrov, navigator Anatoliy Savelyev, radio operator Yevgeniy Fedorov, and aircraft mechanic Vladimir Tsarev.

A Russian detachment of rescue workers was prepared to fly out to the scene of the tragedy to look for the helicopter crew practically immediately on receiving the news. However, according to Marina Ryklina, chief of the State Committee for Affairs of Civil Defense, Emergency Situations, and Elimination of Natural Disasters press service, the group was forced to do nothing, because the Georgian side did not give them permission to look for those who died, reasoning that "the flight has to be agreed with the firing points for the sake of the rescue workers' safety." Despite repeated appeals by the Russian side, this took a whole week to coordinate.

It was only 31 May that the rescuers finally flew to the scene of the tragedy and discovered, on the outskirts of the village, a small mound with a cross—a grave where the local inhabitants had already buried those who had perished. Their remains were transported to Sukhumi where, at the insistence of the Georgian side, they were left for forensic examination. They will supposedly be taken to Gudauta 1 June, and from there to their homeland, Balabanovo, by an An-26 aircraft.

Foreign Minister Welcomes Kyrgyz Counterpart

LD0706164793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] ITAR-TASS has reported on talks in Moscow between Andrey Kozyrev and Ednan Karabayev, the foreign ministers of Russia and Kyrgyzstan. We have every reason to feel satisfied about the development of bilateral relations, Andrey Kozyrev stated in welcoming his colleague. At the same time, the Russian minister noted, there are problems in our relations that are causing the Russian side some concern. In his words, this relates, above all, to the economic sphere and various humanitarian aspects. Several documents are expected to be signed at the end of the talks.

Foreign Ministry Protests Estonia's Election Law

LD0406184593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Yesterday, the Estonian president published a discriminatory law on elections to local self-government bodies, which was adopted by Estonia's state assembly on 19 May. The Russian Foreign Ministry has issued a statement in this regard, stressing that the law deprives noncitizens of Estonia of the right to be elected to these bodies. Ethnic Russians have again been reminded that they are foreigners in Estonia and that they are the one-third of the country's population whose rights are decided by the political climate in parliament. Unfortunately, many appeals to the parliament and the president of the Republic of Estonia from residents of that country, from public organizations, and from self-governed bodies have been ignored. Another step which increases ethnic tension has been taken, the Russian Foreign Ministry statement comments.

Post-Election Politics in Latvia Analyzed

MK0506110693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Jun 93 p 3

[Vitaliy Portnikov article: "A Farewell to Gorbunovs? Parliamentary Elections Today in the Republic"]

[Text] The latest noteworthy action that Latvia's Supreme Soviet Chairman Anatoliy Gorbunovs held as head of the restored state was the meeting of heads of the Baltic states in Jurmala. The Baltic summit graphically demonstrated that Gorbunovs had lingered in his post for too long: His partners in this meeting were Latvian President Algirdas Brazauskas, and Estonian President Lennart Meri, while Gorbunovs' comrades in the difficult process of returning to independence, Vytautas Landsbergis and Arnold Ryuytel, have long been former chairmen of their parliaments.

Gorbunovs presided, for the last time, over the meeting in Jurmala. This last meeting at such a level that it must have had at least a measure of importance for the Baltics. Following the parliamentary elections in Latvia, the key decisive figure to emerge here, as in Estonia, will be the prime minister rather than president or parliamentary speaker. Therefore, the onus of concrete decision making would logically shift to the government level. This is also a symbol of parting, once and for all, with the Soviet system of government once foisted on the Baltic countries, a system that contrived to last several more years after the restored independence and even to put in the forefront a rather big group of energetic politicians that were steering the movement away from the Soviet Union.

Anatoliy Gorbunovs was one of them. When the Popular Front, which won the last Supreme Soviet elections, trusted him—of all persons—a former party ideologist, with the post of parliament chairman of a country that was renouncing communism, the whole thing appeared as a paradox. Today it appears more normal if you view it against the backdrop of Presidents Leonid Kravchuk and Algirdas Brazauskas. The same goes for the unexpected election campaign maneuver by Gorbunovs, who became one of the leaders of the Latvian Path bloc shortly before the voting. If successful, this bloc plans to reserve for Gorbunovs the office of parliamentary chairman, and to nominate a veteran of the emigre political scene Gunars Meerovits, head of the World Federation of Free Latvians, to the post of Latvia's president.

The quaint bloc of diaspora leaders with the architect of the sovereign-communist alternative, has already become both a butt of caustic comments and a symbol of Latvian political pragmatism. It is this pragmatism that will determine the balance of forces in the first—in the past half a century—parliament of independent Latvia. Most probably, neither the Latvian Path nor any other election-campaign bloc is going to call the shots in it. The face of a new Latvian authority will be defined already after the elections in the course of none-too-simple talks between the winners, in the course of maneuvers by political forces, and by offering exalted posts to politicians who deliberately stay aloof from the election tussle—for example, Janis Peters, initiator of the creation of the Popular Front who is currently away in Moscow as ambassador to Russia.

It would be desirable for Latvia, however, to keep Gorbunovs, who has succeeded in becoming a model of Latvian tolerance while not going as dangerously far along this road as did former Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans. It is a new parliament and new leaders of the country that will have to settle the questions that in the final analysis will determine the future of the small Baltic state: the future of persons who are not listed among citizens but who are permanent residents of the republic; the conclusion of an agreement on the withdrawal of Russian troops, and setting the final date for it; the drawing closer to Europe and a Baltic integration. There is no need to say how important the continuity of personal contacts is. A repetition of the Estonian variant in Latvia is hardly possible, but it is clear at any rate that Moscow would view with distrust a "rightist Latvia" even if because Boris Yeltsin's contacts with Riga and Latvia have traditionally been much more lively than contacts with Ryuytel and Tallinn.

But neither one should expect a "leftist Latvia," both because there is no strong left-wing party, and there is no "Latvian Brazauskas." Most probably, Latvia will remain as centrist as it is. Between Lithuania and Estonia, in the same way it is on the map. How much right- or left-of-center its new leaders will station themselves will be determined by the voters.

Zotov Criticizes Latvian Decree on Deal With Russia

PM0706125993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Jun 93 p 3

[Sergey Knyazkov and Modris Ziyeminsh report: "Is Latvia a Reliable Partner? Latvian Parliament's Latest Decision Raises Doubts"]

[Text] The latest round of Russian-Latvian talks has ended, proving extremely productive. The delegations signed 10 agreements, encompassing the civilian sphere, communications, customs affairs, protection of migrants' rights, and a number of others. Documents concerning Russian troops' interim sojourn in the republic and their withdrawal, as well as the use of Latvian waters and airspace by Russian warships and aircraft, were also signed.

Major General Yevgeniy Kochegarov, leader of the group of military experts taking part in the talks, pointed to the customs agreement, which is considerably easing the Russian troop withdrawal from Latvia. It is a question of an agreement whereby the Russian Army has gotten a chance to withdraw property belonging to it

without customs inspection, as well as property legally owned by servicemen's families being exported to Russia free of duty.

However, circumstances do not allow us to continue this article on an optimistic note since, on 1 June, the Latvian Supreme Council deemed the Russian-Latvian agreement "On the Use of Enterprises on the Territory of the Latvian Republic Which Come Under the Jurisdiction of the Russian Federation Armed Forces" invalid as soon as it was signed. This agreement, signed in Jurmala only 10 days ago, envisaged that Latvia and Russia would make joint use of a number of enterprises that are under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation Armed Forces. The plan was to turn these enterprises into joint-stock companies on condition that Russia holds no more than 49 percent of the capital in the corporation stock and Latvia no less than 51 percent. The Latvian side guaranteed, moreover, that Russia would be given the same legal protection of its right of ownership as Latvian legislation envisages for its own enterprises. But the decision that the sides reached via lengthy and highly difficult talks was not destined to be realized.

The "Satversme" (Constitution) Latvian parliamentary faction saw the text of the agreement as a violation of national interests. The agreement's provision which envisages that throughout this period enterprises whose production is being converted will be licensed by the appropriate Latvian structures to repair or manufacture military equipment for Russia or third countries, was said to be the most dangerous part of the document. According to a number of deputies, this has enabled Russia to produce military hardware in Latvia and sell it to foreign countries. Janis Dinevics, Latvian delegation head at the Russian-Latvian talks, tried in vain to disabuse deputies on this score. Regrettably, Russian Delegation Head Sergey Zotov remarked aptly, owing to the Latvian parliament's decision the state delegations have ended up in the same position as that well-known historical figure—Queen Penelope, who spent the day weaving cloth and unraveled it at night.

Obviously, this decision by the Latvian Supreme Council is directly linked with the Seimas election battle. How else can one explain the fact that even those members of parliament who 10 days ago during the talks approved the highly important interstate agreement have voted in favor of revoking it.

Sergey Zotov has described the Latvian Supreme Council decree of 1 June as "unprecedented" and a "breach of the generally accepted principles and norms of international law." The Latvian parliament's decision, his statement says, calls into question the confidence in Latvia's signature and makes this state an unreliable partner in the eyes of the world community. The Russian side is proposing that agreement be reached for this matter to be transferred to an international body for consideration.

Mutually beneficial economic and other ties between Russia and Latvia are in the interests of very broad strata of Latvian and Russian society. The refusal to sign an agreement of great importance to both states that has already been drafted only plays into the hands of those who oppose an improvement in Latvian-Russian relations.

Agreement With EC Not Ready for Yeltsin's Denmark Visit

LD0706123193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1045 GMT 7 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—Contrary to expectations, the partnership and cooperation agreement between Russia and the EC will not be signed on 21 June during Boris Yeltsin's visit to Denmark, said Ivan Silayev, Russia's ambassador to the EC, speaking to journalists after a meeting in the Kremlin today between Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, and European Commission Vice President Leon Brittan.

He said that the political section of the agreement, "which provides for coordination of actions on important issues of world life has, on the whole, already been agreed." However, consensus has still to be reached on the section of the agreement dealing with trade and economics, which envisions the free movement of goods, capital, services, and workers.

Ivan Silayev thinks that Boris Yeltsin should take part in the Council of Europe meeting in Copenhagen in order to stimulate the process of agreeing on the moot points of the agreement. He also expressed hope that "the July meeting of the G-7 will substantially influence the completion of preparations for the agreement" which may be ready in two or three months' time.

Valentin Sergeyev, head of the Russian Federation Government's press service, told journalists that during the hour-long talks between Viktor Chernomyrdin and Leon Brittan, the head of the Russian cabinet said that "Russia would like to see discrimination in trade gradually removed." He asked the EC vice president to explain why the EC applied discriminatory measures against Russia. Leon Brittan explained that the EC does not discriminate against Russia in trade but that it simply takes into account the unresolved problems which exist in Russia at present, in particular, the processes of the transition to the market which are far from complete, and of privatization, and the artificial lowering of the prices of energy carriers. He gave assurances that the EC does not plan any discriminatory measures against Russia. Leon Brittan also expressed hope that Boris Yeltsin's visit to Denmark will take place. A great deal is expected of it, including direct discussion of questions of Russia's cooperation with the

EC, not just with representatives of the European Commission but also with the heads of states and governments.

According to Valentin Sergeyev, Deputy Premier Aleksandr Shokhin, who took part in the talks, said during an exchange of opinions that an agreement between Russia and the EC on partnership and cooperation "will hardly be ready" by 21 June. In Aleksandr Shokhin's opinion, the most complex question which must be resolved during the preparation of the document is that of "the discriminatory regime of trading with Russia."

Radio on Cooperation Agreement With EC

LD0706165493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Leon Brittan, vice president of the Commission of the European Communities, met with journalists at the end of his visit to Moscow. Our observer Viktor Levin discusses this:

[Levin] The end of May and the beginning of June were marked by a noticeable intensification in the talks on the preparations for a wide-ranging agreement on partnership and cooperation between Russia and the European Community. Just over a week ago Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin visited Copenhagen, where he had a conversation with Poul Rasmussen, head of the government of Denmark, who is chairman of the EEC until the end of June. Then Leon Brittan came to Moscow where he met with Viktor Chernomyrdin and Aleksandr Shokhin.

This activity by the sides has given certain hope that they will manage to draw up an agreement and that at the European summit in Copenhagen on 21 June Russian President Boris Yeltsin will be able to sign the document together with the EEC chairman. Whereas Shokhin said in Copenhagen that they would possibly be able to do this, today Brittan did not leave any doubt that they have not managed to reach complete agreement [as heard]. We hope, said Brittan, that the agreement will be signed in December.

The EEC vice president was asked what prevented them from completing matter right now. In reply, after starting with a few general words and then noting that technical difficulties inevitably arise in drawing up such a detailed document, Leon Brittan pointed out the main reason why the agreement failed to be drawn up. According to him, the reason for it is that Russia has not yet created a market economy. The deputy chairman of the Commission also noted that there has been progress in that direction, which is in keeping with the canons of diplomatic politeness, but as the conversation went on he also reiterated his idea that the EEC cannot regard Russia as a country where a market economy already prevails in all spheres.

Leon Brittan said that it is better to have a good agreement than a rapid one. A good agreement—and here I permit myself to express my own point of view—can only be a mutually advantageous agreement. You see, it is a matter of trade and economic problems, of lifting, for example, various discriminatory restrictions on Russian firms, on the goods markets for textiles, steel, reprocessed nuclear fuel products, and so on, and on financial services, the movement of capital, and investment. Here we have to change our stand, since there are glaring shortcomings in Russian legislation, on conditions for the workforce, and so on. Now the sides are thinking about the stage-by-stage involvement of Russia in the European economic space. And perhaps it is along this path that we shall manage to find mutually acceptable solutions.

On 9-11 June, if the talks continue with the same intensity, delegations from Russia and the EEC will meet again in Brussels, and experts are working almost all the time. And finally, the main thing is not that the agreement should be ready by a certain date, even by a noteworthy date, but that it should correspond in full measure to the interests of Russia's cooperation with the European Community.

Government Endorses Text of Application To Join GATT

LD0806104493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1011 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—The Russian Government has endorsed the text of an official application for the membership of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

In the application, the Russian Government requests that an item about Russia's GATT membership be put on the agenda of a session of the GATT Council of Representatives on June 16, this year.

The Russian Ministries for Foreign Economic Relations and Foreign Affairs have been directed to send an appropriate note to the GATT Secretariat.

MVD Aide Cites Figures on Organized Crime

PM0706123993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksandr Krivopalov report: "'Godfathers' from the CIS Will Be Internationally Stamped Out"]

[Excerpts] London—Around 100 of the world's most experienced detectives gathered in the UK Police Staff College near the city of Basingstoke for a conference devoted to cooperation in the fight against organized crime. [passage omitted]

The figures cited in a conversation with me by General G. Chebotarev, first deputy chief of the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Administration for Organized Crime, are staggering. Approximately 4,000 organized criminal groups are operating on the territory of Russia, of which 150 have international links. It is possible that these figures are incomplete. According to G. Chebotarev, things have started to slide back to the recent past when obkom [CPSU oblast committee] first secretaries prohibited unpleasant crime statistics from being publicized in their domain. This practice, the general said, is still apparent today.

Naturally, after the conference ended, its participants left the journalists' curiosity unsatisfied as to how exactly they intend to cooperate in the fight against the mafia, which has spread throughout the world. However, the detectives made it clear that they expect the cooperation to be specific and efficient.

Implications of ANC Delegation's Moscow Visit Viewed

PM0706134593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Boris Pilyatskin: "Moscow Receives ANC at State Level"]

[Text] Last Thursday [3 Jun] was not destined to become a historic frontier in South Africa's life: The announcement planned for that day (agreement was reached back in April) on the schedule for the transition to a nonracist democracy and the holding of universal elections has been deferred at least until the end of June.

The main opponents, the government and the African National Congress [ANC], the news agencies report, have coordinated their positions. But, in addition, within the framework of the conference of 26 parties and movements, other participants in the negotiations process are to give their agreement.

Maneuvering in the narrow center space the government is again assuring its supporters that there can be no talk of replacing the white minority rule with the rule of the black majority and the balance of interests of all communities will be ensured on the basis of the division of the volume of power. But it looks as though few people believe that propaganda cliche. At least the ANC is behaving like a future government, in which it is finding support not only among its supporters in South Africa but also abroad.

If we are speaking of Russia then this problem is very delicate. Pretoria has normal diplomatic relations with Moscow and both sides have frequently stated they are anxious to develop them. Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin has just congratulated F. de Klerk on the national holiday—Independence Day—and thus, on the surface, there are no signs of Russia refusing to recognize the legitimacy of the present South African Government.

Nonetheless, new nuances in Moscow's policy with regard to South Africa are there. For the first time since the collapse of the CPSU, which supported and financed the ANC, a high-ranking delegation from that country headed by ANC Executive Committee Member Tabo Mbeki recenyly visited Moscow. It had talks with leaders of the Foreign Ministry, Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and other departments. According to T. Mbeki, "It is very important that after the long interval caused by the changes which have taken place in our countries relations with the ANC should be maintained by Russia at state level."

In this connection it should be recalled that a representative of the ANC was once "accredited" to Moscow under the so-called Soviet solidarity committee. After the August putsch the pseudopublic committee perished ignominiously and the status of the ANC representative occupying embassy-type premises and using an automobile with diplomatic number plates was as it were hanging in the air.

Now, to all appearances, no one will touch on this problem. And is there any point in it if the Republic of South Africa embassy in Moscow has taken no steps in this regard? And why, if it may well be that in the foreseeable future the embassy personnel will be sanctioned by the present members of the opposition.

Commentary on Iranian-Saudi Rift on Hajj Ceremonies

NC0506091693 Moscow Radio Moscow in Persian 1330 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Sergey Viktorov commentary]

[Text] Esteemed listeners, yesterday, the members of Saudi security forces supported by units of armed soldiers prevented the entry of Iranian pilgrims into their own mission in Mecca.

According to IRNA, this was done to prevent the convocation of ceremonies for commemorating the anniversary of Khomeyni's demise. The situation in Mecca is very complex during the hajj, which is performed by hundreds of millions of Muslims who visit these holy sites. Naturally, Saudi authorities are forced to maintain public law and order, and to take various measures to provide facilities for the performance of religious obligations by people from other Islamic countries.

However, the Saudis themselves have complained for many years in the past as well as the present that most of their problems are related to Iranian pilgrims. The bloody catastrophe that occurred some years ago at the holy sites that resulted in the killing of hundreds is still fresh in everyone's memory. As is well known, the Saudi authorities sought to prevent similar incidents this year, and in view of the Iranian pilgrims' inclination to convene political actions [preceding word in English] they banned all kinds of marches and gatherings of a political nature at the holy sites.

The Saudi Government did not specify any names in its decree but it was clear to all that it was alluding to Iran. There are nearly 100,000 Iranian pilgrims at the holy sites. Naturally, Tehran lodged a strong protest against the banning of marches and meetings. Some Iranians told correspondents that Saudi Arabia was being influenced by the United States in this issue. However, if we view the issue from an objective perspective, we see that this issue is far deeper than it appears with regard to the current political situation, or reciprocal relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia.

In essence, the matter veers around two different and, to a great extent, contradictory tactics with regard to the role of contemporary Islam. The Saudis, and they are not the only ones, primarily stress the purely religious nature of Islam. It is not (?surprising), therefore, that a Saudi official stressed the ban on demonstrations and said that the Saudi Government will not permit anyone to induct elements into Islam in contradiction to its teachings. In his opinion, the convocation of the hajj rituals should be in an atmosphere of humility, peace, and security.

According to evidence, the Tehran officials do not subscribe to this interpretation of Islam. As is well known, they believe that Islam is not merely a religion, but is a living policy. Therefore, one can utilize the religious rituals for the optimum political objectives. Today, these objectives embody the exposing of the West and the U.S. arch-Satan as the enemy of Muslims all over the world. Ostensibly, according to the Iranian interpretation of Islam, it is not merely a creed that concerns itself with the innermost self of the devout Muslims, but is, to a great extent, a political and worldly instrument that stretches beyond the pale of human belief and even the Islamic world.

Time will prove who is right, but one must not forget that in our world, that is alongside the Islamic world, a secular world exists as well that cannot ignore this extremely militant interpretation of the need for politicizing the teachings of Islam.

New Air Link With Israel Agreed

LD0506110893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1056 GMT 5 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 5 TASS—The Russian Government approved the draft agreement on an air link with Israel prepared by the Transport Ministry.

Air routes are expected to connect russian cities of moscow and St. Petersburg with Tel Aviv and 'Elat in Israel.

Both Russian and Israeli airlines will fly their planes along the new routes.

Constitutional Conference

Paper Publishes Khasbulatov Undelivered 5 Jun Speech

PM0706193193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Jun 93 First Edition pp1, 2

["The speech Ruslan Khasbulatov did not deliver at the Constitutional Conference": "The Supreme Soviet Is in Favor of Constructive Cooperation"]

[Text] Esteemed president! Esteemed conference participants! In his speech the president described to us his vision of constitutional reform. Many of its provisions undoubtedly deserve attention and reflect the general movement toward democracy, and also provide an analysis of the shortcomings of the existing Constitution, which have long been obvious to everyone.

The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet has authorized me to speak at this conference and express the standpoint of the Supreme Soviet.

First of all, the Supreme Soviet views this conference as one of the most important events on the path of elaborating the Russian Constitution.

As of the present time drafts of the Fundamental Law of both the Constitutional Commission and the president have been discussed at sessions and sittings of the Presidiums of Supreme Soviets and in the inner soviets of kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies in more than 70 regions.

On 1 June the said drafts were discussed at the All-Union Conference of representatives of soviets of people's deputies at all levels.

Finally, the other day the Constitutional Conference was held, organized by a number of parliamentary factions, social movements, and political parties.

Thus the representative organs are perhaps more engaged than anyone in the constitutional process and can with full justification speak in the name of the people.

Permit me now to set out a number of fundamental approaches, which disclose the Supreme Soviet's positions.

First. The Supreme Soviet is disposed toward constructive and creative cooperation in the elaboration of the new Constitution. This is how we have acted hitherto, and this is the approach which we have brought to this conference. The main condition for this cooperation and for the normal implementation of the constitutional process—is to operate within the framework of constitutional legality.

Second. In the discussion of various issues of constitutional reform in the Supreme Soviet a number of differences emerged in versions of the Constitution. Of course, these differences are brought about by the fact that Russia truly finds itself at a crossroads. But, the dilemma Russia faces is far deeper than a choice between capitalism and socialism, far more acute than the question of what sort of social structure we advocate.

The question we are discussing comes up against the problem of the correlation between traditions and progress—evolutionary and revolutionary progress. Some people want to supplant this question with the question of the "reactionary-restitutionist tendencies in the Supreme Soviet" and the "progressive-Westernizing tendencies in the executive."

The real question is whether we wish yet again to discard Russia's traditions in a revolutionary manner and declare this tradition a blind alley, or whether we are prepared to move along an evolutionary path, preserving the best from the experience of our fathers and grandfathers, and multiplying it with the foremost experience of civilization.

In the first case we have to adopt a constitution that is flawed from the start, based on the worst tsarist tendencies and involving considerable infringement of human rights, irresponsibility on the part of the federal authorities, and a rapid growth in the elements of the bureaucratic state—which is inevitable as soon as we talk of discarding traditions.

In the second case we have to adopt a constitution based on the idea of positive convergence, the idea of the synthesis of all the best that has been accumulated by world experience with our historical results. This is a very serious problem which the country faces, and it should not be reduced to a battle between "reactionaries" and "supporters of progress."

Unfortunately, the president's side has presented a worse version of the constitution in comparison with its own first version, indeed, by comparison with the existing Constitution.

The main thing is that it contains a very unrealistic demand: to introduce an unlimited presidential power which nullifies all the proclaimed freedoms for the individual and independence of the courts, and destroys the very principle of the separation of powers with its restraining factors and counterbalances and the principles of federalism. I am convinced—and many academics and statesmen have come to this conclusion, not just the representative power—that a presidential republic in this guise is unacceptable for the Russian Federation in principle. In the existing Constitution, unfortunately, norms have been introduced which have already led to the emergence of two or three parallel governments and a disruption of the balance of powers, and thereby engendered a crisis in the administration of the country. This bias must not be intensified in the new constitution. A top official who is not head of state today many be elevated to such a rank—head of state. The executive should be in the hands of an efficiently operating federal government, responsible to parliament.

The idea of abolishing the representative power under the banner of rejecting the soviets belongs to this same category. This is unacceptable, because the president has not even come up with a name for the organs of representative power.

Another danger of this draft—one which could blow the Federation apart—is the idea of differentiated chambers. The creation of chambers which are not equivalent and are unequal in rights in our conditions is a fresh, and rather artificial twist in the spiral of contradictions which complicate the adoption of the Constitution. Is it necessary?

Third. On the machinery for constitutional reform. Its framework is the constitutional triangle: the Constitutional Commission headed by the president, the Supreme Soviet, and the Congress. And on the decision of the Congress there could be a referendum as well.

Yesterday the Supreme Soviet adopted a decree on the procedure for agreeing and adopting the Russian Federation Constitution. Here are its main points:

by 30 June 1993 the Constitutional Commission should agree with the president the main provisions for a unified draft of the new constitution;

the Federation Treaty should be incorporated into the draft constitution;

the draft should reflect the results of the discussions which have taken place in recent times;

the agreed draft should be submitted to nationwide discussion;

by 10 October 1993 proposals should be submitted to the Constitutional Commission and the Supreme Soviet;

the definitively agreed draft should be submitted 17 November to the Congress of People's Deputies for its examination.

Fourth. There are in the country, of course, forces which idealize our past. These forces reflect the viewpoint of tens of millions of our fellow citizens. And we cannot and should not disregard this opinion, thereby dividing society into "first-" and "second-class" citizens.

This is why, if we do not manage to reach agreement on the fundamental questions, let us decide the issue at a referendum, submitting to it all the main versions of the constitution and ensuring the equality of all supporters of the various constitutional models in their dialogue with society.

Fifth. It should be noted that even under dictatorial regimes constitutions are adopted by the supreme representative power. You will never find—such a thing has never happened in the 20th century—a monarch granting a constitution under his own signature. No matter what, a constitution passes through the representative, legislative power. There is no other way of adopting a constitution except through the supreme representative power. Surely this is obvious?

Evidently, it is not obvious, seeing that in the recent period huge pressure has been put on the deputies, the leadership of the Supreme Soviet, and its presidium: Deputies have been forced to make antiparliamentary statements, they have been gathered conspiratorially in various "holes and corners" and incited against the chairman, in return for which they are promised profitable positions and privileges with the aim of wrecking the Supreme Soviet, blowing the Congress to pieces, and going to the point of legalizing illegal actions. I would like to recall that the same scenario is being employed, only still more crudely, as was used during the destruction of the Union. This scenario will hardly work today. Therefore, let us work as is required by the law, the interests of society, and indeed, by simple human decency.

Now on the work of our conference. I have been instructed on behalf of the Supreme Soviet and leaders of the republic and regional soviets to deliver a proposal in order to ensure that the conference proceeds in the most democratic way. It seems essential not to be restricted at the plenary session to hearing two or three speakers, but to be able to discuss the most fundamental questions of constitutional reform. On this basis working groups could work more substantively and expertly. And, of course, not just one draft should be discussed, but all the drafts, including the existing Constitution. The Supreme Soviet, the Constitutional Commission, the leaders of the soviets at all levels, and participants in the numerous conferences have advocated the elaboration and adoption of a new constitution, and at the same time draw attention to the fact that the constitutional process should not be "driven too hard," since such haste would lead to the adoption of a defective, and hence, temporary constitution.

In conclusion, I would to stress once again that the Supreme Soviet will do everything to make sure that the constitutional reform fully safeguards the interests of society.

Thank you for your attention.

Constitutional Conference Continues 7 Jun

Work Begins on Draft Constitution

LD0706135793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 7 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] According to our information, this evening an extraordinary sitting of the Presidium of Russia's Supreme Soviet will take place, which is probably also connected with the situation which has arisen at the Constitutional Conference, but we will find out about this only by the evening.

And now our correspondent reports on the Constitutional Conference's work in sections:

[Correspondent Vladimir Perfilyev] Groups of representatives taking part in the Constitutional Conference are to examine 2,200 proposals and observations from 15 republics, 63 oblasts and krays, and from people's deputies and citizens of Russia with regard to the draft new constitution. Today this work started.

The group of representatives of federal organs of government are working under the leadership of the head of government, Viktor Chernomyrdin.

Sergey Shakhray is coordinating the work of representatives of organs of government of krays, oblasts, and autonomies.

But Anatoliy Sobchak has perhaps the most difficult task. After all, he leads a group which is made up of representatives of political parties, trade union and youth organizations, mass movements and religious denominations.

First deputy head of the government Vladimir Shumeyko is working with a group of commodity producers and entrepreneurs.

In accordance with a decree of the Russian president, a group of representatives of local self-government under Yuriy Yarov's leadership also began work today. But journalists were not admitted to cover this group's work.

And so, at the Constitutional Conference, scrupulous and in many respects routine work on polishing the draft constitution is starting. And if in the groups of representatives a feeling of political realism gains the upper hand, it will probably be far easier to resolve questions that arise during the plenary sittings.

Chernomyrdin Assesses Yeltsin Draft

LD0706132493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1129 GMT 7 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Jun— Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation government, spoke in the Kremlin today at a sitting of the Constitutional Conference commission on federal bodies of power and gave his assessment of the draft constitution.

In the view of the head of government, all the necessary preconditions for a civilized and constructive political dialogue exist in Russian society. He stressed that the path which we have to take to reach an agreed draft is no less important than the result. He said that the conference's work "is, in essence, an embodiment of the civil accord which Russia needs so much today."

Viktor Chernomyrdin is convinced that one of the main conditions for this is the unity of the constitutional process, by which he means the principle of one draft, one constitution.

Dwelling on the specific features of the activities of the executive, the head of government declared that the draft constitution submitted to the conference by the president offers the government sufficiently strong instruments to enable it to perform the functions of the federal executive, principally in the fields of conducting economic policy and managing federal property.

However, he commented at the same time, the development of Russian statehood is inseparable from the strengthening of the federal representative branch. In Viktor Chernomyrdin's opinion, the presidential draft constitution provides an important stimulus to this process as well. "If there are any 'suspicions' that the role of parliament is being reduced, let us discuss them seriously," he added.

The head of government emphasized that the document under discussion could could have a range of points added to it. Primarily, this concerns the economic and social rights of citizens. First of all, of course, economic freedom and activity should be stimulated—however, the most important socio-economic rights must be reinforced by the constitution, like the right to work and leisure, and essential state measures to defend human rights and interests during the transformation to market conditions, he said.

Apart from that, Viktor Chernomyrdin considers it essential to determine constitutional responsibility for both the government and the Central Bank pursuing a united financial, credit, and monetary policy.

The speaker called the Federal Treaty a most important issue and an inalienable constituent part of the new constitution. In his opinion the presidential draft is much better than the constitutional commission draft in this respect. The head of government considers that there is "room for more precision" in the presidential draft. First of all, he considers, a clear definition of the status of federation subjects is required. However, Viktor Chernomyrdin concluded, the presidential draft as a whole meets the requirements of the situation that has developed more fully, and guarantees that reforms will develop within the framework of the line that has been laid down.

Republics Propose 'Additional' Meeting

LD0706134993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1305 GMT 7 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, June 7 (TASS)—Heads of several dozens of Russian republics and regions proposed to hold an

additional plenary meeting during the work of the constitutional assembly and give the floor at it to parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov.

In a statement signed on Monday [7 June] and prepared by heads of the Krasnodar Regional Soviet and of Nizhniy Novgorod Administration, Aleksandr Zhdanovsky and Boris Nemtsov, they called on those who left the conference on Saturday to return.

"We ask all those who left the constitutional conference to return and continue joint work on the draft constitution", the document said.

It is possible "to hold yet another, intermediary plenary meeting and give the floor at it to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, the secretary of the constitutional commission and coordinators of the working groups of the constitutional conference", it proposed.

"We, the plenipotentiay respresentatives of the subjects of the Russian Federation... address the president, the parliament, the government of the Russian Federation, political parties, movements, religious and public organisations with an appeal not to miss the existing possibility of participating in the constitutional process of most political forces of the country on the basis of accord and equality". "We hope that a quiet and all-round analysis of the situation will make reason triumph", the document reads.

On Saturday the parliament chairman stormed out of the conference hall after he was denied the floor and some 50 participants followed suit. On Monday several of those who had left the conference returned back.

Officials Cited on Progress

LD0706190593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Interviews with Sergey Sergeyevich Alekseyev, Gennadiy Burbulis, and I. Kivelidi, chairman of the Government Council for Entrepreneurship, by unidentified correspondent during interval in constitutional conference in Moscow on 7 June; from the "Vesti" newscast; recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Sergey Sergeyevich, to what extent has the president's draft been altered as far as the articles you have already covered are concerned?

[Alekseyev] It has improved.

[Correspondent] Thanks to what?

[Alekseyev] Thanks to better formulation, the amendments carried, and though mine is not a totally impartial voice on the subject of the original formulation, I have to say honestly that it had defects and not very good, unwieldy clauses and the draft is improving.

[Burbulis] All pessimistic forecasts about the participants in the conference disagreeing completely and being ready to argue from morning until night are absolutely unfounded, and although our section probably has the most disputes within its ranks, we are convinced everyone badly wants to see a constructive result. Work on five articles has already been completed.

[Kivelidi] If we are successful in bringing our views closer together with those of the political parties, and at least find out whether another plenary sitting is necessary for this—though from another view, this will drag out procedure a bit—it would be very useful, before the end, and then let everyone speak, including the opposition forces, to find out what exactly they want to say—including the speaker of parliament—that we do not know, or that we should not let him say. [sentence as heard]

Regret Expressed Over 'Incident'

LD0706173393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1700 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] A whole series of participants in the Constitutional Conference's fifth group that unites representatives of manufacturers and entrepreneurs adopted a statement in the Kremlin today that expressed regret over the incident on 5 June and discussed the loud clapping tactics [used to drown out Khasbulatov]. A list of amendments to be debated was compiled at the session.

It was decided to involve a group of experts from among the conference's participants in the session. An understanding was reached that first of all, a list needs to be drawn up of articles about which there are questions and suggestions, and then to begin their discussion.

Participants View Progress

LD0706230093

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1950 GMT on 7 June carries a 15-minute program entitled "How Will We Organize Russia?" which consists of interviews with participants in the constitutional conference. This program replaces the previously scheduled report on the work of the Russian Supreme Soviet.

Correspondent Andrey Bystritskiy begins by briefly mentioning the work of the constitutional conference today and the fact that its participants were working in groups. There are several of them. The correspondent speaks about the work of the group of representatives of state power bodies of the republics within the Russian Federation, krays, oblasts, autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg; this group is working under the leadership of Sergey Shakhray, Viktor Stepanov, and Anatoliy Tyazhlov. He stresses that in his opinion special responsibility is being placed on this group as the problem of the federal organization and of the equality of all the subjects of the federation is first of all being solved from the point of Russia's federal structure.

Bystritskiy proceeds to interview a number of the participants in the constitutional conference, who express their satisfaction with the progress of work of the conference on Monday 7 June. Aleksandr Zhdanovskiy, chairman of the Krasnodar Kray soviet, says that today the possibility of working normally was clearly demonstrated and despite a fear that only one draft would be selected, his section worked on two drafts. The section agreed on the integration of the two drafts, namely that of the Constitutional Commission and that of the the president. He sees this as the most important result of today's work of the section.

Boris Nemtsov, the governor of Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast, expresses wholehearted support and says that everyone, including members of the presidium, Sergey Shakhray and Anatoliy Tyazhlov, agreed that both drafts should be taken into consideration. He said he hopes that in the next few days those who left the conference will start gradually taking part in the work of the conference. "This will be the first step on the way to consolidating the two drafts and society."

Rashit Khismatullin, minister of justice of the Republic of Bashkortostan, says that he hopes that "their meetings, conversations, and discussions will lead to a positive result" and "a constitution which meets the aspirations of the entire people of the Russian Federation will be adopted in a legal way as is stipulated by the law currently in force and by the Constitution." He says that he hopes that the constitution which is to be adopted will recognize the republics within the Russian Federation as sovereign states which would have the right to the supremacy of their laws on their territories and the right to tackle their domestic issues themselves without diktat from the center. He also stresses that he believes that the Federation Treaty signed by the federal bodies of the Russian Federation and the overwhelming majority of the republics within the Russian Federation should be included in the constitution in full.

Georgiy Dzhikayev, minister of justice of the Republic of North Ossetia, says that today's work was more productive than on 5 June and that in fact one draft is being made out of two. Regarding the situation in North Caucasus, he says that it is similar to anywhere else in Russia. Of course, there are interethnic problems, in some republics they have become exacerbated. He hopes that these conflicts can be settled.

Professor Aleksey Kazannik, a member of the Presidential Council, says that after the confrontation at the plenary session he was expecting a certain amount of tension today. He notes that all the amendments were discussed in a constructive way and adopted by a majority vote. He stresses that today points of contact between the various drafts of the constitution have taken shape. He points out that the editorial and constitutional commission was advised to take the second section on human rights and freedoms of the individual from the draft prepared by the editorial commission as it has been done much better there. He says that as the days go on the positions of both the Supreme Soviet and the president's administration will draw closer on many principled issues. He is optimistic that the draft will be adopted which will be acceptable to all the social forces in our society.

Other interviewees include Yevgeniy Krestyaninov, chairman of Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast soviet; Anatoliy Tsikhotskiy, an expert from Novosibirsk Oblast; Ivan Lyskovets, an expert from Pskov; Nikolay Glazychev, an expert from Velikiye Luki; and Aleksey Tanerov, a people's deputy from the Republic of Mariy El.

Opposition's Attendance Viewed

PM0706131993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 5 Jun 93 p 2

[Petr Akopov article: "Who Is Taking Part in the Constitutional Conference"]

[Text] Representatives of political parties, trade unions, youth and other social associations, mass movements, and religious groups will be working in one of the five groups at the Constitutional Conference.

The largest number of places in this group belongs to representatives of political parties, mass movements, and youth and other social associations. They have been allocated 101 seats. We are publishing a list of participants in the Constitutional Conference from these organizations. Let us recall that according to the president's Edict on Convening the Constitutional Conference representatives may be seconded to the Constitutional Conference from those organizations which have registered a document containing their rules with the Russian Justice Ministry. In all, 1,800 social associations have registered with the Justice Ministry, and 1,400 of them have all-Russia status. However, the overwhelming majority of the registered organizations exist on paper only or are so small in numbers that they represent virtually no one but their founders. Thus when the President's Administration issued invitations it was guided by the real weight and role of these organizations in the country's life. As is well known, the opposition is staging an alternative All-Russia Constitutional Conference. Active participants in the alternative conference such as the National Salvation Front and United Front of Working People did receive invitations to take part in the Constitutional Conference convened by the president. Official rejections have been received from their leaderships, however. It is surprising, but these organizations were the only ones to officially decline the invitation. The remaining opposition organizations did not refuse, and some, such as (Sterligov's) Russian National Assembly, even promised to send their representatives, although ultimately they did not respond to the invitation. These included the Union of Communists party and the Russian Communist Party. The Russian People's Congress (Baburin) was not allowed to delegate Anatoliy Lukyanov, who is involved in the State Committee for the State of Emergency case . However, the Russian People's

Congress' place was held open until the evening of June 3. Many opposition organizations have not been given seats because they do not have Justice Ministry registration. This applies to the Party of the Working People, the Russian People's Front, "Working Russia," and "Democratic Union." "Working Moscow" is not represented because it is regional, the Union of Officers (Terekhov) is not represented because it is interregional. The Russian Communist Workers Party, whose main claim to fame is Anpilov, is represented at the conference by someone on the anti-Anpilov wing of the party.

Presidential Aide Stankevich Holds News Conference

Yeltsin To Meet Republic Chiefs

LD0706143793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1356 GMT 7 Jun 93

[ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, June 7 (TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin will meet the leaders of the Russian Federation's constituent republics on 8 June, presidential advisor Sergey Stankevich told a news conference in the Kremlin today.

According to Stankevich, the reason for this meeting is that the republican leaders want equality of status for the constituent parts of the Federation during the Constitutional Conference, and to have this principle enshrined in the draft Basic Law.

The meeting is also expected to discuss the Constitutional Conference's future working procedures, because some of its participants representing Federation members are displeased that their suggestions on the Basic Law have not been put on the list for debate.

'Additional' Meeting Expected 10 Jun

LD0706173693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1732 GMT 7 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 7 TASS—An additional general meeting of the constitutional assembly is expected to be held on Thursday [10 June] where Parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov may be given the floor.

The press service of the Russian president said on Monday that the working commission of the conference "recommended to convene an extraordinary plenary meeting on June 10." The item on the agenda is the "course of the work on the constitutional assembly of the Russian Federation."

Presidential Aide Sergey Stankevich said on Monday that Boris Yeltsin was planning to hold an intermediate plenary meeting where all his opponents will be able to speak out.

Initially two plenary meetings were planned - on the first and the last days of the conference. Khasbulatov left the assembly after he was denied the floor during the first meeting.

Khasbulatov To Address Meeting

LD0706145293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1434 GMT 7 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow June 7 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin intends to hold an additional plenary meeting of the constitutional assembly at which parliament chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov will be given the floor, according to a presidential aide.

Sergey Stankevich told a news conference on Monday [7 June] that all Yeltsin's "opponents will speak out if they wish" at the meeting.

"The reaction of the president is benevolent, flexible. The only inadmissible thing for him is the disruption of the conference", Stankevich said.

He also informed that most participants in the conference "supported the idea of levelling the status of the subjects of the federation" and said he is sure that the assembly will arrive to the final draft constitution as scheduled.

The section of political parties and movements proposed to work out a lawbill on early parliamentary elections and a corresponding group has been created for the purpose, according to Stankevich.

He added that "after the first stormy day the constitutional assembly began to work normally".

Deputy Premier Shumeyko Holds News Conference

Khasbulatov Said Uniting Opponents

LD0706144493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1423 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 7 TASS—Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko doubts that Parliament chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov will return to the Constitutional Conference as he is "set to unite opponents of the president".

Khasbulatov would have left the conference anyway, even if he had been given the floor, he told a press conference on Monday [7 June].

Shumeyko, who is a co-chairman of the group of industrialists and entrepreneurs at the Constitutional Conference, said his group supported the proposal of granting equal rights to all subjects of the federation.

The social and economic equality of all Russian republics and regions should be fixed in the constitution by

establishing the same quotas of payments to the budget, he said, adding that the equality of their state status can be secured if the legislative acts adopted by them have equal legal value within their territories.

He denied reports that Russian republics are against granting the same rights to the territories and regions. Shumeyko said they just do not want to lose their own rights, but have nothing against granting the same rights to the territories and regions.

Constitution Must Be Adopted

LD0706190993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 7 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A constitution should be adopted right now, this year or never, said Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy prime minister, at a news conference today at the International Press Center. Today the Russian Federation urgently needs a new Basic Law that will put a halt to the absolute power of the soviets and make us a secular instead of soviet state, the first deputy prime minister underlined. While we have no Basic Law, Vladimir Shumeyko believes, there can be no talk of any reforms.

Summing up the results of the first day of the Constitutional Conference Vladimir Shumeyko, who heads the section representing producers and entrepreneurs, said it was fundamental the fact that all the participants in the conference voted for an amendment establishing equality between subjects of the Federation. The entrepreneurs similarly spoke out for equality between the subjects of the Federation.

Shakhray Comments on Consensus, Compromise

PM0806132193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 8 June 93 p 1

[Statement by Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray under the rubric "Opinions, Assessments, Forecasts": "Constitutional Conference Through the Eyes of Participants"]

[Text] "What is the deployment of forces? The local self-government group has already started elaborating a joint stance. I participated in the congress of Russian cities; a stance has already been formulated there. Therefore no debates are expected in this group of participants in the Constitutional Conference. Members of the entrepreneurs group have also long since come to realize that a single emissions center, free movement of capital, services, and goods, and private ownership on an equal footing with other forms of ownership are to their benefit. And a consensus will quickly be reached in this group, I think. A compromise will also be quickly reached in the group of political parties. Everyone wants early elections. And this common interest will enable the main conceptual provisions to be agreed. But debates will develop in the remaining two groups: the federal organs of power and the group of representatives of the components of the Federation. At the last session we intend to discuss two volumes of amendments submitted by the Constitutional Conference; we will define procedures and begin normal work. In addition to myself, Viktor Nikolayevich Stepanov, chairman of the Republic of Karelia Supreme Soviet, and Anatoliy Stepanovich Tyazhlov, head of Moscow Oblast Administration, have also been appointed as coordinators.

"Will there be a quorum? The Constitutional Conference is not a congress. Here there is no such concept as a quorum. Our status is consultative. The president also mentioned this fact. We will adopt a decision to approve or not approve the amendments by a simple majority of those present. As for the standing orders, it will be possible to change them if necessary."

Commentary Criticizes Yeltsin 5 Jun Actions

LD0706171793 Moscow Radio Rossii in Russian 1110 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Commentary by announcer Tatyana Ivanova—from the "Radio Parliament" program]

[Text] Unfortunately the constitutional conference, which began on Saturday [5 June], has not made a contribution to the consolidation of society—the other way round, if anything. In fact many people warned that events might develop in this way. The latest myth about the democratic aspirations of the president and his supporters was dispelled in one fell swoop. Millions of television viewers saw the manner in which Boris Nikolayevich asked the chairman of Russia's Supreme Soviet not to speak, on the grounds that a conference was being held. The word "conference" comes from the verb "to confer." In other words it means an exchange of views, discussions, consultations and so on. But this conference will, by all accounts, be a forum for consultations among hand-picked supporters. This is a pity.

Nevertheless, this first session really was historic. Never before has a people's deputy—I am talking about Deputy Slobodkin—been bundled out of the hall, simply for not going where the guards wanted him to. You can imagine what kind of instructions the guards were given.

The behavior of the press is intriguing. Ever since the Constitutional Conference started, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation has been referred to simply as Ruslan Khasbulatov, without any mention of his post. On rare occasions this is amplified to Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov. The same fate has befallen the vice president. He is simply Aleksandr Rutskoy now. Even the chairman of the Constitutional Court is increasingly referred to simply as Valeriy Zorkin, without any mention of his post. This might seem trivial to some, but in fact far-reaching objectives are being pursued. We are being brainwashed, surreptitiously but persistently, into accepting sloppy attitudes toward these people, and therefore their posts and the work which they do. How can you talk about Ruslan Khasbulatov, Aleksandr Rutskoy and Valeriy Zorkin, at

the same time as President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, Prime Minister Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin and Vice Premiers Shakhray and Chubays? How important Sergey Aleksandrovich Filatov, head of the President's administration, sounds! This immediately conveys an impression of solidity and conviction. It seems blasphemous to ask what exactly these people, with their high-sounding titles, actually do.

You have to feel sorry for the journalists who had to comment on what happened in the hall of the Constitutional Conference. It is not easy, you will agree, to have to say that the hall was abandoned, first, by 30, then 50 delegates, when the television screen clearly showed that at least 100 and possibly more participants in the conference were walking out. Of course some people might claim that this was a premeditated provocation by the Supreme Soviet, that Deputy Slobodkin staged a hysterical stunt. After all the microphones and cameras were all controlled by the same people. But if you carefully view and listen to the various sources of information and compare them, you can rapidly form an accurate picture of what happened. After all, it was said that the walkout was staged by supporters of Khasbulatov. However, the television pictures show that Vasiliy Lipitskiy, one of the leaders of the Civic Union, was among those who walked out. This means that centrist representatives also condemned presidential-style democracy.

Take another example. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the Russian president, warned his followers not to turn the conference into another session of congress of people's deputies. He did not want detailed debate of a kind which might turn the Constitutional Conference into something resembling a congress.

When you see all this, you realize how much the president fears the supreme body of power. After all, unscheduled speeches are allowed at the congress, speeches by deputies who have travelled from remote areas of Russia, who are familiar with the problems and concerns of Russian citizens. At a congress they might even table the question of no-confidence in the president. That is precisely why the Constitutional Conference must not resemble a congress, in case it suddenly adopts an unplanned decision.

After the first session of the Constitutional Conference ended in scandal, 45 representatives of subjects of the Russian Federation—chairmen of oblast, kray, and republican soviets of people's deputies—signed an appeal to the citizens of the Russian Federation. Here is what it says:

Esteemed citizens of the Russian Federation, veterans, young people, workers, peasants, members of the intelligentsia, and servicemen! We appeal to you at an exceptionally crucial and critical moment in the history of our Russian state. When Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, addressed the Constitutional Conference on 5 June, he no longer bothered to conceal his direct threats and attacks on the congress of people's deputies, the Moscow Soviet, and all organs of people's power. The entire situation in the country, including at the Constitutional Conference, shows that dictatorship by a single personality, with unlimited powers, is being revived in our long-suffering Russia. The democracy which has been so arduously gained by our people is in jeopardy. In just three years the latter-day democrats have plunged our state into economic, political, social, and moral collapse. The bulk of our citizens have been impoverished and humiliated. A flood of lies and deceit has inundated the press, radio, and television, thereby distracting our attention from the tragic consequences of a profoundly anti-people policy.

Today, when the question of responsibility for all this has become a real issue, the so-called democrats are determined to give the president unlimited power, to destroy people's power, and to turn the people into obedient servants of the wishes of the president and his entourage. All this is being done under the guise of drafting a new constitution.

Citizens of Russia! At this alarming juncture for our homeland, when the president's statements effectively signify his readiness to resort to an unconstitutional course, we, the leaders of representative bodies of subjects of the Russian Federation, appeal to you and to all public movements and political parties to rise in defense of people's power, statehood, and your own civic rights.

This appeal was signed by the leaders of the Kabardino-Balkar Republic, the Mordovian Republic, the Republic of Sakha-Yakutia, the Republic of Tuva, Altay Kray, Stavropol Kray, Amur, Archangel, Belgorod, Vladimir, Voronezh, Kaliningrad, Kemerovo, Kursk, Kurgan, Leningrad, Lipetsk, Magadan, Murmansk, Novgorod, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Orenburg, Orel, Penza, Perm, Pskov, Rostov, Saratov, Sakhalin, Tambov, Tver, Tula, Tyumen, Ulyanovsk, Chelyabinsk and Chita oblasts, the Jewish autonomous oblast, the Buryat autonomous okrug, the Komi-Permyak autonomous okrug, the Nenets autonomous okrug, the Ust-Orda-Buryat autonomous okrug, the Chukotka autonomous okrug, the Evenki autononous okrug, and the Yamalo-Nenets autonomous okrug. The leaders of these subjects of the federation signed this appeal.

Although the wording of this appeal is fairly serious, nevertheless it is wrong to intimidate people with the idea that the authors are extremist deputies, extremist members of the representative branch. Many of those who walked out of the hall on Saturday are once again taking part in the work of the constitutional conference today. Those who are truly concerned for the fate of the homeland are prepared to exploit any chance to bring about consensus in society, to resolve long-standing problems, and as a result revive Russia. Let's hope that this has at last been understood by the president and his team. In our programs we will report in detail on the work of the constitutional conference.

Treatment of Khasbulatov Deplored

PM0806090193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Jun First Edition pp1-2

[Article by parliamentary observer Andrey Sharapov: "The World Witnessed Our Shame"]

[Excerpts] The Constitutional Conference, attended by over 750 participants, opened in the Kremlin 5 June. [passage omitted]

The 5 June plenary session began with a five-minute report by the president "On the Draft New Constitution of the Russian Federation." [passage omitted]

Then Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov asked to speak. [passage omitted]

But Ruslan Khasbulatov had hardly uttered the first sentence of his speech before some conference participants started a slow handclap to drown out his words. In view of the situation, the parliament chairman stressed that those present were incapable not only of resolving serious issues but even of discussing them—and walked out. [passage omitted]

The Russian Supreme Soviet chairman had to read the text of his speech on a staircase. In it he drew attention to the attempt to get the Fundamental Law adopted in circumvention of legal procedure and representative organs of power. At a White House press conference held the same day at the request of journalists, the Supreme Soviet chairman assessed what had happened as yet further proof of the trend toward authoritarianism and an unprecedented instance in the history of democracy. [passage omitted]

What happened in the Marble Hall of the Kremlin, where CPSU Central Committee plenums used to be held, is reminiscent of the methods and traditions of old-style apparatchik games. And I am not talking about the free food bar for the conference participants, or the absence of microphones in the hall on the demagogic pretext that otherwise the result would be some kind of new congress, or about the total lack of self-control of the bold security guards [who initially attempted to prevent Khasbulatov reaching the platform], or even about the half-forgotten division of the press into "goodies" allowed into the conference corridors, and "baddies" only permitted into the press center. The crux of the matter is that we have again come up against the communist habit of substituting wishes for the truth and avoiding reality.

Even during the preparations for the conference perplexity resulted from the fact that the preliminary documents did not even mention the legitimate draft constitution, as if it did not exist. The traditions of apparatus-style shaping of the Union parliament were also demonstrated in the half-election, half-appointment of the conference participants, who were depicted in advanced as plenipotentiary and broadly representative expressers of the people's opinion. But the behavior of some conference participants, who slow-handclapped the speaker of the Russian parliament (and Academician Sakharov was the last person to have something like this happen to him) showed that the people assembled in the hall were not so much the expressers of the people's wishes as presidential "claqueurs" invited to perform in the "we approve" style with which we are so familiar. After all, the person who was requesting to speak was not some official professionally subordinate to the president—but he was not even allowed to make a single proposal.

The president's speech contained at least five points contradicting existing legislation. This applies, in particular, to the idea that the draft constitution should be agreed and initialed by the components of the Federation and also that the Fundamental Law should be ratified by the congress (whereas the congress is unequivocally empowered to adopt the constitution, not ratify it).

Another source of regret is the president's assessment of the incident in the Marble Hall as "a preplanned provocation." He is thereby calling into question the intention of Russian representatives of power to participate in a full-fledged, all-embracing discussion of the Fundamental Law which the country needs. I nevertheless think that this was precisely what the president intended, or else the slow-handclapping of the leader of parliament could also be regarded as preplanned.

For some of our potentates the law remains only an aid to the achievement of their own political objectives.

On 7 June journalists with the lowest (and broadest) category of accreditation to the conference were not even allowed into the press center. They were promised they would be allowed in only after 1600 hours. This raises the question of freedom of speech and information...

Constitutional Crisis, Options Viewed

PM0806085993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Article by Otto Latsis: "On Approaches to Russian Constitution: Alarm and Hope"]

[Excerpts] One can struggle for a bright future and one can simply provide amenities for a normal life. But can the life of a state without its own constitution be normal? Today the independent Russian Federation is such a state, living with the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic—a republic within the USSR. With a constitution hurriedly provided with 300 amendments which have made it a law which it is impossible not to violate. [passage omitted]

The adoption of a new constitution in the very near future would help to resolve not only long-term tasks but also the most urgent ones. Having opened the way to normal elections to a normal parliament, the new constitution would help overcome the crisis of power which

is tearing Russia to pieces at a difficult time and delaying the solution of agonizing economic problems. It is worth recalling that this crisis of power is at the same time a crisis of Russian parliamentarianism. The present parliament's blatant inclination to replace useful work with confrontational outbursts compromises the very idea of parliamentarianism and complicates the establishment of a democratic parliamentary system.

The present position of the parliamentary majority and its resistance to the adoption of the new constitution and its dislike of constructive work serve as an additional argument that in the foreseeable future Russia must become a presidential republic. Parliament's inadequate activity is obviously linked with the immaturity of the multiparty system on which any genuine parliamentarianism must be based. But the lack of proper political parties is not a shortcoming which can be rapidly eliminated by any decree.

The convening of the Constitutional Conference as a consultative organ does not rule out the possibility of the adoption of the constitution by the congress if the congress were to prove capable of this. At the same time the creation of an organ like the Constitutional Conference confirms the possibility of seeking other democratic and legitimate paths if the congress proves unable to fulfill the will of the people, clearly expressed 25 April, for the continuation and acceleration of democratic reforms.

Political Issues

Further on 3 Jun Government Presidium Session

PM0806085793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Jun 93 p 1

[Vladimir Gavrilenko report: "Session of Russian Federation Council of Ministers Presidium Discusses Prices Among Other Things"]

[Text] The latest session of the Russian Council of Ministers Presidium held 3 June in Moscow set itself three main tasks: to discuss and adopt the State Program for Defense Industry Conversion in 1993-1995; to formulate and define the main principles of the concept for pricing policy for the next two years; and, lastly, to discuss government measures to neutralize the social consequences of regulating the price of petroleum products. But, as Vice Premier Boris Fedorov, who began his press conference before the session ended, indicated, conversion had the most "good fortune." The discussion was businesslike and fruitful.

Although the draft state program proposed to the session was sent back for finalization, as a whole it won approval. This state program comprises 14 conversion programs formulated on the basis of current experience. They have all been worked out in detail and take into consideration the interests of all the state's economic structures, ministries, departments, and, most importantly, the interests of the country's defense capability.

The Presidium had "plenty of trouble" with the "price" issue on the agenda. The report submitted by the State Committee on Prices did not satisfy the majority of those present since its main idea was the assertion that further price liberalization is not a priority area in the pricing policy being forged. That being so, partial (and sizeable!) regulation of prices cannot be avoided. In the opinion of most participants in the session, that approach to pricing policy is not in keeping with the current phase of economic reforms. The committee's suggestion that a fixed ruble exchange rate be introduced was also rejected.

The upshot was that three conclusions were drawn during the "price section" of the Presidium session agenda: The government lacks a clear price policy for the next two years, and one must be formulated; existing approaches to pricing do not accord with the approaches employed in the reforms that are being implemented; and the Committee on Prices must update its work. Cognizance was therefore taken of the report and the Committee on Prices, the Finance Ministry, and the Ministry for the Economy were asked to formulate within the month a price policy as close to the realities of the day as possible.

Prices of petroleum products should have been raised back in April; this was dictated by the general trend toward liberalization of prices, and of fuel prices in particular, which is an integral part of the economic reforms. But out of political considerations this was delayed and the treasury, Boris Fedorov said, "gave car owners 300 billion rubles." Hardly car owners, of course. Most likely commercial structures, which earnestly set about stockpiling fuel in April and May. Fuel prices have now changed, but there is every indication that these are just interim prices.

Fixed Ruble Exchange Rate Rejected

LD0706134693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0425 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] The Presidium of the Russian Council of Ministers on 3 June categorically rejected a proposal from the pricing policy committee for a fixed ruble exchange rate.

The proposal was for two exchange rates, a market rate and a special import rate of about 150-200 rubles to the dollar. However, most of those present were categorically against the idea. Viktor Chernomyrdin was not present, but on holiday in Sochi. However, our TV company has managed to catch the prime minister even on vacation. [Video shows Chernomyrdin surrounded by officials, talking to correspondent.]

[Begin recording] [Chernomyrdin] There is not going to be any other currency in Russia other than the ruble. That is definite. Some people want to have various other currencies in circulation, but that will not happen here in

Russia. We are going to do all we can so that we have the ruble. That is it, just the ruble. The ruble rate is another matter. There are certain things happening to it at the moment. But I think ...

[Correspondent] Your forecast for the dollar rate?

[Chernomyrdin laughs and turns away] [end recording]

Poltoranin Does Not Confirm Appointment as Press Minister

LD0706201093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1939 GMT 7 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow June 7 TASS—Mass media circulated the statement that Russian Press Minister Mikhail Fedotov will take the post of the Minister of Justice and Mikhail Poltoranin will be appointed press minister. However, Mikhail Poltoranin did not confirm this information in an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent. He said the leadership of the Federal Information Centre [FIC] will submit to the decision of the Constitutional Court about the abolition of the FIC. At present Poltoranin is creating a new information structure which is aimed at privatization of mass media. "Mikhail Fedotov is ahead of events," Poltoranin added.

Union of Journalists Congress Opens 7 Jun

Yeltsin Affirms Press Freedom

LD0706152393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 7 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Congress of the Russian Union of Journalists opened in Moscow today, and one of the main events of its first day of work was the decision by the Unions of Journalists of Moscow and St. Petersburg to become associate members of the Russian Union. Thus, all Russia's journalists are finally uniting and becoming a force to be reckoned with. The union is expected to adopt a declaration expressing condemnation of any forms of censorship or control of the press and also a demand for legal, economic, and social guarantees for journalists.

Greeting the congress, President Yeltsin for his part gave an assurance that should there be any attempt to restrict freedom of the press and breach the law on the press, he would take the most resolute measures to defend the constitutional rights of citizens.

Journalists Discuss Privatization

LD0706151493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 7 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Congress of the Union of Journalists opened in Moscow today. Freedom of speech is necessary as never before and, to this end, journalists need to feel at least that they are proprietors. This is perhaps the main idea. But here is a more detailed report by our correspondent:

[Correspondent Kira Grigoryeva] The congress will last two days and today it was only discussed what our union should be like in the conditions of radical state, political, and socioeconomic transformations. After all, in defending democratic restructuring for others, journalists have found themselves almost the most vulnerable in market conditions: rising prices for paper and communications equipment are making us dependent on everyone who provides money, naturally inflicting serious damage on freedom of speech and glasnost.

No one will give us anything for nothing, it is necessary to demand and receive what we deserve, Vsevolod Bogdanov, chairman of the Russian Union of Journalists, said. It is in this spirit that the congress is working.

The participation by journalist collectives in the privatization of state property emerged as one of the main questions being discussed. The Union of Journalists presented the president with a list of enterprises—publishing houses, printing houses, editorial buildings, and television and radio complexes which are subject to privatization—and also proposed a method to float them.

Possibilities of giving material support to veterans and young colleagues and to set up a journalistic investigation corporation were also examined.

Poltoranin on Mass Media Consolidation

LD0806110493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1012 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—"A presidential decree has been drawn up to set up a Russian information corporation, which will unite all the mass media of the republic," head of the federal information center Mikhail Poltoranin told the Congress of the Union of Russian Journalists here today. He said the corporation was being set up to perpetuate the single information space of Russia, to strengthen the material basis of the mass media, and to create conditions for their denationalization.

The Union of Russian Journalists will be a partner in this project and will form corresponding investment funds. State property will serve as the initial capital. One of the points of the project stipulates that the corporation will allow journalists to take part in it as shareholders.

Interviewed by ITAR-TASS, Poltoranin said that the corporation would be headed by a council, which will include the editors-in-chief of many publications. He said he wouldn't object to taking part in its work.

Poltoranin also said that he could not confirm the rumors that he was to be appointed Minister for the Press and Information of the Russian Federation. As to the Federal Information Center, this body, Poltoranin said, still exists but a "legal verdict has already been passed on it by the constitutional court". However, Poltoranin believes that the Federal Information Center would have anyway developed into a corporation.

President Yeltsin Greets 'Book Protection Congress'

LD0806101093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0926 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, June 8 (TASS)—The Russian president's press service has released here the text of a message of greetings, addressed by President Boris Yeltsin to the participants of the book protection congress now under way here:

"I heartily greet all the participants of the current book protection congress.

The history of human civilisation cannot be imagined without book printing. Books have always constituted the basis of culture, have taught us how to live, have been our sage instructors and kind advisers. Their lofty spiritual mission found particularly clear expression in Russia. The Russian people have always been known for their surprisingly careful, spiritual attitude to books, their respect for printed matter.

The Russian state and the most far-sighted entrepreneurs have always backed the publication of books and culture in general. I am sure that the fine traditions of our ancestors will be furthered. Concern for the perpetuation and multiplication of the cultural wealth of the peoples of Russia is reflected in the draft of our new constitution.

I hope that the congress will draw up concrete measures to promote book printing in Russia, to coordinate this noble work with other countries, to establish a single information and cultural space on the territory of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

I wish the participants of the book protection congress success and fruitful work.

[Signed] Boris Yeltsin"

Democratic Party Withdraws From Civic Union

LD0706120593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1122 GMT 7 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Moscow June 7 TASS—The Board of the Democratic Party of Russia (DPR) has decided to recall its representatives from the central bodies of the Civic Union of Russia.

A DPR statement, released here today on the results of the June 5 meeting of the party's leadership, notes that "some leaders of the Civic Union, including Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy, have violated the agreement on cooperation within the Union by several political actions, which have shifted the bloc nearer to the socialist camp". The document claims, in particular, that the agreements concluded on behalf of the Civic Union with the Socialist Party of the Working People and the Labour Party "testify to the left-centrist tendencies of the agreement's initiators". In the opinion of the Russian Democratic Party, the Civic Union has exhausted its potential as a centrist electoral alignment of forces.

The Board has also discussed the situation at the Constitutional Conference and has authorised its representative to continue his participation in its work.

Ambartsumov on Shaping of Foreign Policy

PM0706140793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 May 93 First Edition p 7

[Interview with Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations, by Sergey Tikhomirov; place and date not given: "Yevgeniy Ambartsumov: I Prefer Civilized Methods in Politics"]

[Text] [Tikhomirov] Earlier this year the long-awaited concept of our state foreign policy emerged from the depths of the Russian Foreign Ministry. Quite recently we also learned of the concept on this topic elaborated by the Russian president's Security Council. It would be interesting to learn your opinion of these documents and also whether the Supreme Soviet has an analogous concept?

[Ambartsumov] No normal state can nor should have two or three concepts of foreign policy. It is simply irrational, the sign of an anarchy-ridden state. That the government and the Supreme Soviet may, for example, have disagreements over particular provisions of it is another matter. However, the disagreements should be removed, eliminated by coordinating their positions and elaborating the optimal solution.

[Tikhomirov] What is your attitude to the Security Council's concept?

[Ambartsumov] A paradoxical situation has come about, you know. The concept confirmed by the president is a classified document. And although our committee and I, in particular, took part in its completion, I have not seen it since it was approved by the president. And I personally do not understand how we can put this concept into effect when we do not know what it consists of.

As far as I am aware, the concept was drawn up as follows. There was Yuriy Skokov as leader of the Security Council Foreign Policy Committee. Its apparatus, with the participation of various departments, above all

the Foreign Ministry, and parliamentary committees, particularly the international affairs committee, prepared the concept. It then clearly underwent some changes and was signed by the president. Meanwhile Skokov had left. Whether this might seem to repudiate the document in some way I do not know. I ask myself that question. And I have no answer to it. But the concept has been confirmed and has acquired legal force.

When I asked at the Foreign Ministry where the concept was, it was explained to me that it is a classified document.

Clearly, the document could contain, let us say, some formulations which it is inadvisable to spread around. For example, it might say that some state cannot be trusted, that friendship will not be possible with another, and so forth. Naturally such things should form a classified section of the document.

Incidentally, the foreign policy concept elaborated by the Foreign Ministry does differ in respect of certain questions and in its form from the one prepared by the Security Council, although there are no particular inconsistencies in the approaches. I would specially observe (I express my own standpoint) that I see no point in the existence of two organs—the foreign policy commissions of the Security Council and the Foreign Ministry. There should not be two foreign ministries, as it were. That the president should in current conditions, with the inevitable strengthening of the presidential principle since the referendum, have his own apparatus, something like aides on security, domestic, and foreign policy problems, is another matter. They should pay more attention to foreign policy strategy and defining immediate goals and priorities.

[Tikhomirov] How, then, can the Foreign Ministry work without having the concept in its hands?

[Ambartsmov] Well, people are born and live their lives. They do not at the beginning work out a concept for themselves. In general they live without one. The postulate that we get nowhere without a program is a purely socialist brainchild.

I would observe that the Security Council document is more incisive or, rather, more candid and pragmatic, and is considerably shorter too than the Foreign Ministry one.

[Tikhomirov] So the latter is not currently operating, then?

[Ambartsumov] No, why should it not be operating? The document says that the Foreign Ministry concept was discussed and approved as a whole at a session of the Foreign Ministry Council for Foreign Policy with the participation of members of the parliamentary Committee for International Affairs. The Foreign Ministry reported on the document to the president and proceeds on the basis of its provisions in its practical activity. Incidentally, there has been no official endorsement of it by the president, although it may not have been required.

Again we are talking about confusion in our state here. Yuriy Skokov strengthened his position, as it were, and set up his own foreign policy commission. When he was organizing it, I asked Kozyrev what sort of commission it was, and he said that he did not know. At the time it seemed that Skokov was gathering strength and influence, but you see how it ended. Howver, as the saying goes, the man may have departed, but his work lives on...

[Tikhomirov] Yugoslavia is on everyone's lips today. The events in that unfortunate country are being interpreted in different ways in Russia. Our Foreign Ministry has its own standpoint. What is parliament's position?

[Ambartsumov] We do clearly have differences with our diplomats, above all over how they see the situation in Yugoslavia. Until recently our Foreign Ministry regarded it through the eyes of the West. But that vision is not always sufficiently objective or appropriate. And the story of our attitude to the events in Yugoslavia is quite typical in this regard.

We upped and supported clearly premature recognition of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, although the latter had never existed as a single state. And its emergence as a single state is at variance with its previous constitution. In my view, this premature recognition served to spur on the grievous ethnic war. Incidentally, I warned that this step should not be taken 18 months ago—even earlier in fact.

And now, for example, my counterpart from the West German Bundestag (and he is not alone) agrees with me that it was a mistake. Most of our partners in talks support such a standpoint.

Moreover, take the well-known decision on sanctions made in May last year. The Serbs' responsibility for ethnic cleansing and killing people is indisputable. But all the warring sides—Serbs, Croats, and Muslims—are guilty, after all, albeit to varying degree. Sanctions, however, were taken only against Serbia.

In this situation the Supreme Soviet proposed modifying our diplomatic service's course and opposed the sanctions. And, after all, they have really come to nothing to date, have resolved nothing. Despite all this, the Supreme Soviet has never sided unconditionally with Serbia. Some members—yes. And now modification to the Foreign Ministry's course has occurred. Even a short while ago the Foreign Ministry would certainly have supported the proposal on armed Western intervention in the conflict; however, the Kozyrev-Churkin plan, which was drawn up not without our participation, is based on the need for a political solution of the problem.

In other words, the differences in approaches have led not to the victory of one other the other but to parliament's view of the problem being taken into consideration to a considerable extent.

I will take yet another aspect. Long before my election as committee chairman treaties regulating bilateral relations were concluded among the member states of the former Union. It turned out, however, that the concepts of those agreements were not properly studied. Yes, we granted the new states independence. It was not won by them. Without the support of democratic forces and actions in defense of the inhabitants of Tbilisi or Vilnius the acquisition of independence by the new states would have been very problematic.

Thus, even prior to the disintegration of the USSR, when bilateral treaties began to be concluded they did not take account of one essential element, namely the rights of our fellow-citizens. The shortsightedness of both the Foreign Ministry and parliament told here. No strategy for the defense of the Russian-speaking population or its equality in the countries of the so-called nearbyy foreign parts was elaborated. Our fellow-citizens ended up second-class citizens against and regardless of their will.

We all have to work on this now. At the start there was very intense pressure on the government and the Foreign Ministry by deputies. And now the Foreign Ministry itself is taking appropriate steps—witness Kozyrev's refusal to attend the last session of the Council of Europe, where Estonia was admitted.

[Tikhomirov] What specifically are you and your committee proposing?

[Ambartsumov] Well, given that the Soviet Union was dissolved with such haste and lack of prudence, it is essential to proceed from the new realities. From the very outset I regarded the disintegration of the USSR as a mistake. No, I do not mean that it should have been preserved, but the process of the "divorce" should have been conducted more smoothly. Incidentally, I recently met with former German Foreign Minister Genscher, and he asked me: "But why, for what reason did they destroy the Soviet Union?" To which I said: "In my opinion, in order to get rid of Gorbachev. He was surprised: Wasn't that too high a price? Yes, the cost of the collapse of a great power was indeed too high a price to pay.

Thus we have to take an active part in the political negotiating process with the new states based on the realities, which is being done by our committee members. We have, by the way, played a very big role in the talks on the Dniestr region, the Moldavian question, Ossetia, and so forth.

We are simultaneously calling for cooperation on the part of the the parliaments of the new states. We have begun with the exchange of delegations. We will together search for ways of resolving urgent issues.

[Tikhomirov] Please say why you you did not support Kozyrev when he refused to travel to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg?

[Ambartsumov] Why did I not give my support? Of course I would have preferred the Council of Europe to have refrained, to have deferred the question of Estonia's admission. But I do not think that Kozyrev's demarche was an appropriate method. We have experienced all these boycotts, ostentatious walkouts from sessions, and so forth. I prefer civilized methods in politics...

Yeltsin Decree Issued on Civil Service Organization

LD0706125493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed a decree on priority measures in organizing the state service system in the Russian Federation, the president's press service announced today. The decree sets up a personnel policy council under the president of the Russian Federation. Its main tasks are to draw up a personnel policy and to coordinate the activities of the state service in federal executive bodies across departmental lines.

Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Sergey Filatov, head of the president's administration, have been appointed cochairmen of the council. The heads of the Russian presidential administration, of the Council of Ministers apparatus, of federal ministries and departments, and of executive bodies of members of the federation have been instructed to complete within three months examinations of state servants under the president's decree of 4 April 1992 on the struggle against corruption in the state service system.

Economic Issues

Kozyrev Speaks on Foreign Investments

PM0706100793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Jun 93 p 7

[Report by Vyacheslav Yelagin, section chief of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry Information and Press Department: "Diplomats Suggest Giving Foreign Policy an 'Economic Angle'"]

[Text] Expanded sessions of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry council for foreign policy with the participation of eminent political scientists and economists seem to be becoming not a tribute to fashion but a permanent attribute of the Russian diplomatic department's activity. This time a session was devoted to the topical theme of "foreign investments and economic reforms in Russia."

The raising of this problem was caused by the increase in demands for political and diplomatic backup for the reforms course. Russia's integration into the world

system of economic relations has led to the intensification of the role of the ministry and its overseas representatives in resolving foreign economic tasks. The fate of the transformations, the establishment of Russian statehood, and the overcoming of very acute social problems will depend on them to a considerable extent. Under these conditions a very important task for our diplomacy is to ensure the broad influx of foreign investments into Russia. They are not only essential but also desirable for the renascent Russian economy. International experience attests that when a particular country enters a period of economic crisis it seeks to create as favorable a climate as possible for foreign investors. That is the most vulnerable spot in Russian practice. Everyone knows also that Russia's specific features are still frightening foreign investors away from the Russian market.

The council session was addressed by Andrey Kozyrev, head of the foreign policy department, which attests to the Foreign Ministry's desire to give Russian foreign policy an "economic angle." The foreign minister noted in particular that for Russia the attitude toward foreign investments is the question of a historic choice between self-isolation and openness, between autarky and a market economy integrated into the world economic system. He urged people not to be afraid of talk of "the selling off of the Fatherland." For the sake of conviction he cited the words of Sergey Yulyevich Vitte, the outstanding statesman and organizer of the Russian economy: "I have no fear at all of foreign capital, honoring it for the good it does our Fatherland... Not a single country has developed without foreign capital... But I fear the complete opposite, that our system might possess such specific features, unusual in civilized countries, that few foreigners will want to do business with us."

The minister's thrust was that it is time to put an end to ideological disputes about whether or not foreign investments are useful to Russia. Businesslike and specific talk is needed about for instance which sectors of the economy and the social sphere should be regarded as the priority ones from the viewpoint of encouraging foreign investments and about how to improve legislation in this field, especially tax legislation. But in the meanwhile, he said, the total volume of foreign capital investments in Russia does not exceed a "rather laughable" sum—$4 billion.

Andrey Kozyrev then indicated that Russian foreign policy has created prerequisites for the active attraction of foreign investments. Partnership relations with the world's leading democratic states have been established and a course has been steered toward full-scale economic cooperation with the "seven," the IMF, the world and European banks of reconstruction and development, and the EEC. A predictable foreign policy is of itself a guarantee of trust in Russia on the part of foreign investors and, conversely, confrontation with the West will not attract investments in the economy, will not help us emerge onto arms and space services markets. In addition, in the minister's opinion, partnership makes it possible to raise and resolve questions which would be inconceivable under conditions of confrontation, for instance, to seek that the EC countries repeal their discriminatory restrictions on deliveries of Russian goods, especially textiles and steel, and to raise toughly with the United States the question of repealing similar restriction.

At the same time the real results of cooperation with the West in the investments sphere were assessed as insufficient. In terms of this indicator we are below a country like Hungary. It is time our partners switched from declarations in support of Russian reforms.

In Andrey Kozyrev's opinion attempts to retain elements of autarchy and rash opening of doors to foreign business without considering our own interests are equally unacceptable. Nor will we be able to do without sensible protectionism, as he put it.

As for diplomacy, the minister stressed that it can render effective aid to legislative organs in improving our legal norms and rules in the field of investment and in bringing them into line with international standards. A study of world experience in this field and the possibility of its application in Russia are of great value.

Here there is a broad field for cooperation between the Foreign Ministry and the Supreme Soviet. What we need are not demagogic lamentations about sanctions against Libya and Iraq but the formulation of specific diplomatic "orders" for collaboration in elaborating economic legislation packages.

Kozyrev dwelled in particular on the question of the need to create a close alliance between Russian businessmen and a political party or parties. He believes that people of the "third estate," that is businessmen, so far do not have an entirely clear idea of their own political interests. Some still have illusions to the effect that the political and socioeconomic stability which they need so much can be provided by some kind of "center"—be it in the form of the vice president, the Civic Union, or some other force which categorizes itself as the "center." From his viewpoint these are illusions and nothing more. To form a modern market economy integrated in the world economic system, the Russian Foreign Ministry leader concluded, a real alliance is needed between Russia's democratic forces and "third estate" but that mechanism still has to be properly tuned.

As expected, Andrey Kozyrev's debate was followed by keen debates. His viewpoint was not shared by everyone. The well known Russian economic Nikolay Shmelev entered into polemics with the minister. In particular he agreed that protectionism with regard to Russian businessmen is essential but for a very short period, because hothouse conditions over the long term do not produce the desire effect. The authorities have no lever capable of breaking the "monstrous" monopolism of the economy. It can only be broken by the influx of foreign investments. In the scientist's assessment at least 10 years will be needed for that. The present Russian conditions are

utterly unattractive for foreign capital: There are no guarantees of ownership or the export of profits and equal rights for Russian and foreign investors have not been ensured on the domestic market.

The economist urged that technical credits should not be given to countries of nearby foreign parts, that we should not trade with them at preferential prices, calling this policy "a drain on Russian capital" which only urges on the budget deficit and inflation in Russia. This particularly affects the republics of the former USSR which have left the ruble zone, he said.

The arguments of Vladimir Shcherbakov, president of the international fund for promoting privatization and foreign investments, were also out of the ordinary. He criticized the policy which is being pursued today regarding the attraction of foreign investments. Russia does not need credits from the "seven," he believes. Instead it would be better to obtain an interest-free loan for 20 years of $5-6 billion so that it can be invested in an insurance company specially created by Russia and the seven industrial countries. That option could attract foreign investments to Russia and at the same time promote economic reforms. Russia should also take part in the privatization of enterprises in East Europe, since that promises very great benefit.

The debate showed that in Russia considerable efforts are being made to bring foreign investors into the Russian economy. But the creation of an investment climate requires the comprehensive pooling of efforts of all interested departments and legislative and executive organs of power. Despite the difference of opinions, the opponents were unanimous that they want to create real and favorable conditions for attracting foreign investments without detriment to Russia's national economy, Russian producers, and the interests of Russia's economic security.

Foreign Firms' Involvement in Oil Extraction Eyed

PM0706094793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 2 Jun 93 p 4

[Unattributed report under the "Business World News" rubric: "Medium-Sized Business Will Come Into Oil Extraction"]

[Text] Around 30 joint ventures are currently operating in the area of oil extraction in Russia, and in 1992 they exported around 4 million tonnes of oil from the country. It is intended that total oil exports by the joint ventures will amount to 7 million tonnes in 1993. This was reported by Aleksandr Gorokhalinskiy, deputy chairman of the Russian International Cooperation and Development Agency [RICDA].

According to him, the Russian government intends to stimulate the activity of small- and medium-sized foreign business in Russia. Gorokhalinskiy considers that small oil companies can take part in the very near future in the work of restoring the operation of inactive oil wells (as of now they total around 30,000). These foreign companies will be granted a number of concessions and privileges by the Russian government, the RICDA deputy chairman observed.

Ministries Discuss Energy Program to Year 2000

PM0406145593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 2 Jun 93 p 4

[Unattributed report under the "Business World News" rubric: "Russia's Fuel and Energy Complex Development Program"]

[Text] The federal targeted program for the development of fuel and energy, which provides for the stabilization and development of the sector up to the year 2000, was discussed at a joint session of the Collegiums of the Ministry of the Economy and the Ministry of Fuel and Energy the other day. "Both ministries share the view that the failure of reform in the fuel and energy complex will lead to the failure of all reform," Russian Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Shafranik stated.

It was stressed during discussion of the program that the sector, which produces around 68 percent of the hard currency earnings, substantially determines the country's budget and price formation. "I value the program very highly. There is a clear shift toward understanding of its importance and priority status by all organs of power," Shafranik said

The implementation of the program will make it possible to stabilize the situation in the sector before the end of the year. Intensive oil refining, energy saving, the full utilization of casing-head gases, improvement of the pattern of exports of petroleum products, and attraction of investment are immediate tasks here. The finalized program will be submitted for discussion by parliament this month.

Russian Pricing Committee Policy Criticized

MK0806091493 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 23, 8 Jun 93 (signed to press 7 Jun) p 1

[Mikhail Leontyev report: "After Us the Russian Pricing Committee"]

[Text] Reports about the 5 June Council of Ministers Presidium meeting gave no idea of what was actually going on there. It was apparently not the fault of the news agencies, but of the style of the Russian Government, which camouflages itself against the attacks of outside enemies by the unintelligibility of its policies.

The widely touted resignation of First Deputy Prime Minister Lobov did not take place, either, although it is plainly evident that he is not a deputy prime minister at all, whether first of last. Taking a specific step on the way underground, he ordered that the press service of the Economics Ministry be abolished. Henceforth, the press

will have to get information on the agency he heads via specially trained journalists.

On the other hand, the government has received a new deputy finance minister, Sergey Aleksashenko. Aleksashenko participated in the "500 Days" team, then missed the Gaydar government and was deputy director (under Yevgeniy Yasin) of the Experts Institute of the Russian Council of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. The appointment, which does not appear notable at first glance, is believed to be extremely important because it means a shot in the arm of the Finance Ministry advocates of austerity policies who, in addition to First Deputy Vavilov, will also be represented by Aleksashenko, especially if the latter deals with budget matters, in which he is undoubtedly an authority.

Particularly noteworthy, however, against the backdrop of constant promises that monetary policies will be tightened are the efforts by the Russian Pricing Committee, whose work took up most of the discussion at the Government Presidium meeting. The Russian Pricing Committee is a very strange structure, reestablished within the Economics Ministry at a time when a definitive stranglehold was put on Gaydar's first reform last summer. Since then, a large group of people has been engaged in what amounts to downright sabotage, submitting to the government voluminous essays on the need for across-the-board price regulation. Another large group of people has been constantly on guard, seeing to it that none of the idiotic proposals by the committee will sneak into real life. On Saturday, the Russian Pricing Committee was up to expectations as it proposed that the dollar's exchange rate be frozen at what the Russian Pricing Committee thinks to be a decent level.

The stance taken by the Russian Pricing Committee, which was as usual backed by First Deputy Prime Minister Lobov, did not evoke any understanding from other members of the Presidium. Anatoliy Chubays and Boris Fedorov subjected Russian Pricing Committee Chairman Lira Rozenova to devastating criticism, accusing her of following "the unacceptable ideology of yesterday." Boris Fedorov suggested that the Russian Pricing Committee be resubordinated to the Finance Ministry and its functions limited to exercising price control over natural monopolies.

The splendid victory of the monetarists over the hapless committee does not, however, solve the problem of pricing policies. The government has found it impossible finally to liberalize coal prices, although virtually everyone agrees that this is necessary.

Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Shafranik suddenly began telling the government that the liberalization of coal prices would create inflation and mass disgruntlement. He suggested instead, with the consent of the Russian Pricing Committee, that prices should be administratively raised, a 3-percent modernization tax be levied, and unprofitable mines closed.

In reality, the problem is as simple as an egg, or as it was last spring when the government promised to free oil prices. At that time Russian producers and sellers hoarded huge quantities of oil, which could not be sold at liberalized, "exchange" prices, which allowed for a 40-percent share of oil production. The oil lobbyists simply calculated the average between the government price and the "exchange" price and turned it administratively into an official price tag.

At present, coal prices are being determined by growing costs, increasingly pushed higher by money-losing mines. The result: huge coal reserves that do not and will not find a consumer willing to pay. Concern for the population has nothing to do with this—the fact is that if prices are freed now, they may not rise, but fall. This is precisely what is most annoying for the special-interest lobbyists, but saying this openly is considered somewhat unbecoming.

It is better to be guided by the principles professed by Lira Rozenova, who, when asked whether they have calculated what will happen to the economy in two years' time if prices are frozen, said: "But this will be no sooner than in two years."

Commission Discusses Impact of Fuel Price Increases

LD0406183593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 4 Jun 93

[By correspondent T. Orlova; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The increase in fuel prices was perhaps the main event of the week. The possible impact of the presidential decree signed on 24 May was discussed today at an emergency sitting of the Russian Federation Trilateral Commission on Regulating Social and Labor Relations; the commission is headed by Vladimir Shumeyko.

As far as the impact is concerned, we shall soon be able to see and feel that, and in our own pockets. The lifting of state regulations of fuel prices will immediately lead to an increase in prices for output of both production and nonproduction sectors, and first and foremost, agricultural produce and essential goods. Prices for these will leap between 100 and 400 percent, in direct consequence of the price increase. Indirectly, the increase will affect virtually the entire economic complex in the country.

Within two or three months, mutual indebtedness and insolvency of enterprises will grow into a general financial crisis, and will lead to an avalanche of bankruptcies, an increase in unemployment, and reduction in the level of working people's income—this by no means exhausts the possible problems. A decision on measures to neutralize the social consequences of sorting out prices for oil products was taken at yesterday's government sitting.

For its part, at today's sitting of the commission, the Federation of Russian Federation Independent Trade Unions put forward proposals that include first and

foremost, suspending the presidential decree until such time as measures are adopted to protect the population.

Fedorov on Funding Yeltsin's Social Pledges

PM0706140193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 5 Jun 93 p 2

[Article by Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Boris Fedorov: "The President's 12 Points Are Not Populism But a Vital Necessity"]

[Text] I flatly reject the opposition's charges that the president and the government resorted to populist measures in a bid to win a few more votes in the April referendum.

In my view, no one should be in any doubt about the need for a social orientation in the reform program. Ultimately why did we embark on this difficult road and endure so many trials if not for the sake of creating a normally functioning market economy capable of ensuring people a worthy life?

Boris Yeltsin's edict of 27 March 1993 "On Urgent Measures To Stabilize the Russian Federation Population's Living Standard in 1993" may with full justification be called the president's social program. Let me remind you that the document contains 12 major points relating to the social component of the reforms.

When preparing and implementing decisions connected with economic and financial stabilization all executive organs have been instructed henceforth to take into account their impact on the population's living standard. The government has been instructed to determine the minimum living wage and use it as a social normative when raising the minimum scale for wages, pensions, grants, allowances, and social help for underprivileged citizens.

It was deemed necessary to increase the pay of workers in the budget-funded sector and also to make greater use of the taxation system as an incentive to stabilizing production and supplying the consumer market. Together with the trade unions, the government has been instructed to take steps to balance prices and pay so as to have a greater effect on reducing the rate of inflation. The document envisaged the allocation of extra financial resources to state medical institutions, the elaboration of regional programs for the social protection of the population, and the regulation of prices for basic foodstuffs and services.

The role of the republic and territorial social support funds for the population is being significantly enhanced in providing targeted help to Russia's especially needy citizens. Other points in the edict envisage measures aimed at improving the material position of families with children, young students, and a number of categories of old and disabled people.

It is obvious that this edict is aimed at easing the burden on those sections of the population in the weakest position materially—students, pensioners, workers in the budget-funded sector, servicemen, and invalids. That is why I regard the edict as very timely, even if costly.. According to some estimates, it will cost the treasury approximately 13 trillion rubles [R]. Of course we would not want the implementation of these decisions to serve to increase the budget deficit, which has been estimated at R7 trillion. I believe that we will nevertheless be able to increase the revenue side of the budget, which will enable us to get out of this situation without resorting to printing confetti money.

What sources do I have in mind? For example, reducing import subsidies by 40 percent, which will save the budget at least R1 trillion. The considerable reduction of subsidies for coal and bread provides an opportunity to earn the requisite amounts of money, as will allowing the main hard currency earners—oil and gas—to rise smoothly toward free prices, enabling the state to levy excise duty.

In my view, there are great reserves to be found in the redistribution of the power to levy tax between the center and the regions. Having granted them the right to promptly regulate the receipt of local budget resources we can expect the more effective and targeted solution of the specific social problems of any given oblast.

A by no means insignificant role can be played here by the $3 billion which the government hopes to receive under a special IMF credit. If we make intelligent use of it the economic effect could be achieved quite soon and be substantial.

Nevertheless, I believe that as far as we are concerned the main way to radically improve the situation in the country remains the conscious rejection of economically unjustified decisions which could wreck the budget. It is only by imposing a moratorium on all spending not included in the budget for the second half of the year that we can curb inflation and ultimately really help all the citizens of Russia to survive these difficult times.

Shakhray Decrees 50% Bonus for Administration Heads

PM0406124593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Ivan Sidorov report: "Pay Rise on Eve of Conference"]

[Text] It is becoming a tradition that, on the eve of crucial events in our country's political life, the authorities suddenly start doting on those able to speak loudest at the right time. We need only recall how, just before the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies—which was to decide who would have Gaydar's job—Chubays' department suddenly became amenable to the deputies. They started being given 20,000 rubles each (officially unrecorded, we would note) for apparently having furthered privatization at local level.

We recall the generous gift to krays and oblasts of the status of free economic zones with the full range of privileges—fiscal, customs, and so forth—on the eve of the Russian presidential elections.

Against this backdrop Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray's recent directive seems like a mere trifle—giving the heads of city, oblast, and okrug administrations a 50-percent pay bonus in 1993. It may be purely coincidental that this directive has appeared at this time. But it is timed very well to coincide with the opening of the Constitutional Conference, for which the aforesaid Federation components will have to prepare very thoroughly and conscientiously.

What is particularly touching is the reason given for the directive—that it is all just "material assistance for the leaders of executive organs." Certainly not concern for party comrades-in-arms!

You read this directive from the radical vice premier and you are amazed: Where did a relatively young man get this experience in handing out party envelopes (have you heard about them?)? And one other point—on what authority does Sergey Shakhray issue such directives? Or can he do everything now?

Revised Privatization Program Localizes Decisionmaking

PM0706082993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Igor Karpenko report: "Draft Privatization Program for 1993 Approved by Russian Government"]

[Text] The report on the 1993 privatization program delivered to the government by Anatoliy Chubays, chairman of the Russian Federation Goskomimushchestvo [State Committee for the Management of State Property], stressed in particular that all the fundamental positions that have determined the essence of the privatization process are fully retained in the new program. At the same time certain important changes have been made to it.

The main change is a significant reduction in the degree of centralized administration of the process of changing ownership relations and the regional accent of the program. Thus the decision to privatize enterprises which used to require Goskomimushchestvo permission for privatization will now be made at local level by property management committees. There are currently more than 22,000 such enterprises in Russia, Goskomimushchestvo Deputy Chairman D. Vasilyev explained. No longer will enormous torrents of paper flow from the oblasts and krays to the capital and back again or representatives from enterprises have to suffer the hassle of lining up forever outside officials' offices.

Issue No. 93 of IZVESTIYA has already reported on many of these detailed changes in the program and the new sections it incorporates at the request of Federation components. The government has made no major observations on these sections, probably because the need for a policy of economic autonomy for the regions is currently obvious to everybody.

The lengthy and heated discussion over the problem of revaluing enterprise property to account for inflation when determining the incorporation capital and starting price at auction was immediately resolved at the presidium session. This point was incorporated into the program under pressure from deputies and from certain departments whose assessment of this Goskomimushchestvo innovation by is negative. Following disputes and discussions it was decided to retain the former system of valuing property based on book value, since the new norms would hit the interests of labor collectives hardest of all. Their privileges in the program remain the same as before. Admittedly there are plans to cut the period for deferred payment of shares once subscriptions have closed—the installments, which are already extremely modest by current standards, will be whittled away by inflation to the point where they become worthless.

Incidentally, the terms of the new program stipulate that enterprises will now be given an incentive not so much by flotation as by the result of privatization: Once 75 percent of an enterprise's property has been sold, its collective will receive a certain allotment of free shares and preferential "nonvoting" shares will become voting shares; the collective will also acquire the right to buy the plot of land on which the enterprise is located, and so forth.

Amendments will be made to some sections of the program after it has been discussed in the government, but overall the program has been approved and the basic principles enshrined in the current privatization model remain unchanged. The draft program will not be submitted to the government for repeat examination: A specially established working group has been given a month to make all the amendments and ensure coordination with ministries and departments; this working group's decision will be final. The president thinks it necessary that all positions should be coordinated before the document is submitted to the Supreme Soviet. This is clearly why the group includes as many as four vice premiers—Shumeyko (as chairman), Chubays (his deputy), Yarov, and Soskovets.

All the provisions of the president's edict "On State Protection of the Right of Russian Citizens To Participate in Privatization" will also be included in the new program; as we know, this edict stipulates that harsh measures will be taken against people who slow down the privatization process; a time frame for the completion of each stage of privatization has been laid down—from filing flotation documents through selling shares at check auctions.

The president has tasked the government with preparing a number of normative documents to ensure the normal

progress of the privatization process during the period prior to the program's ratification by parliament.

Central Bank Sets 1993 Credit Regulation Aims

LD0706093793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0605 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] The Central Bank of the Russian Federation has presented to the Russian parliament the basic directions of monetary and credit regulation in 1993. The document notes that the bank is setting itself a number of aims and particularly the prevention of hyperinflation, because the monthly increase in prices of more than 40 to 50 percent could well cause an uncontrollable financial and economic crisis. In connection with this, the bank intends to restrict the growth of the money supply, using administrative and economic methods to regulate it. The payments system must be standardized and made more reliable. The material and technical base for clearing operations must be modernized, and organizational economic measures must be carried out. Tough measures are also planned to improve the banking system in the Russian Federation, and to guarantee the deposits of Russian citizens. Special attention will be devoted to monitoring the activity of commercial banks.

Yegor Gaydar Assesses Government Policies

BR0706152593 Brussels LE SOIR in French 5-6 Jun 93 p 2

[Interview with former Russian Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar by Pierre Celerier in Moscow; date not given: "On Economic Reform in Russia and the Political Battle Surrounding the Constitutional Conference"]

[Text] [Celerier] At 37 years of age, you are Russia's youngest former prime minister. Have you retired from politics?

[Gaydar] I am in semiretirement. I chose to focus my efforts on an economic think tank—the Russian Federation of Private and Privatized Businesses—which I have headed since March. We already have 1,100 members through 50 regional organizations. This is the best way to exercise political clout. Today, parties are both weak and unorganized, which is not the case for trade unions and associations, especially financial ones.

[Celerier] What do you think of the privatization process?

[Gaydar] There are no best-way schemes in this respect—and even fewer perfect applications. Privatizing always brings conflict and challenges. I cannot say that we are satisfied with the scheme adopted by my government, as two-thirds of privatized enterprises are controlled by workers' groups. This scheme was forced on us as a compromise. However, what matters is that the current process ultimately will make it possible for the market to control business activities. Thus, real privatization will take years, all the more so since we are still waiting for Parliament to adopt the legislation on joint-stock companies.

[Celerier] The rate of privatization vouchers has been increasing slightly. Can this be a lasting trend?

[Gaydar] The problem stems from the fact that the rate of vouchers does not hinge on economic factors only, but on political ones as well. For example, the rate went up after the referendum gave Boris Yeltsin and his reform agenda a vote of confidence, as he embodies his reforms' future—that is, he embodies the future of privatized businesses. From an economic point of view, it seems that speculation on vouchers has been replaced with a will to invest, thanks to the emergence of large controlling packages through investment funds.

[Celerier] In the debate on the two proposed constitutions, which one do you favor, that of the president or that of Parliament?

[Gaydar] Both suffer from the same flaw: too many promises. For instance, how can you guarantee "equal pay for equal jobs" through a Constitution? Only the market can determine such things. On the other hand, the issue of power distribution is crucial, especially for the government. Its autonomy probably is protected better by Boris Yeltsin's model. And lastly, the Federal Treaty remains a problem. We note a tendency toward granting broader autonomy to local authorities, and I am happy about this. But, at the same time, federal structures must be preserved, be it with respect to financial policy, taxes, or foreign trade.

[Celerier] There is much talk of your returning to the government these days.

[Gaydar] If there is such talk, it certainly is not coming from me. On the other hand, such a request does not tie in well with the government's current composition. Ministers that represent industrial circles do not like me much. What matters, at any rate, is that reformists, such as Privatization Minister Anatoliy Chubays, retain their portfolio.

Military & Space Issues

Grachev Appeals to Khasbulatov on Draft

PM0706161793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Viktor Litovkin report: "Parliament Is Leaving the Army Without Soldiers"]

[Text] Russian Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev has sent a letter to Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, proposing a return to the reexamination of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet decree "On Certain Measures Connected With the Implementation of the Russian Federation Law 'On Military Service Obligation

and Military Service,'" which was adopted, as is well known, almost three weeks ago—19 May.

The May decree abolished a number of draft deferments envisaged by the law on military service but in practice did not help, as the military had hoped, to fundamentally change the situation with regard to Army and Navy manpower acquisition. The situation in this sphere, as IZVESTIYA has repeatedly said, is critical.

There are 1,814,000 young men of draft age in the country. And 1,515,000 of them have an entirely legitimate right to deferment. Including 500,000 students at higher educational establishments. It is easy to compare the above figures and to see that in our country 84 percent of young people have the right not to serve in the Army and Navy. But in the FRG, for instance, it is only 50 percent, in France it is 42 percent, in Spain 25 percent, in Italy 15 percent...

The remaining 16 percent, specifically the 299,000 people drafted in spring and fall, are distributed as follows: 50 percent go to serve in MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] internal and prisoner-escort troops, border units and other Security Ministry structures, Federal Agency for Government Communications and Information troops, and other departments that have compulsory-service soldiers and sergeants, and only 75,000 young men go to reinforce the Armed Forces each time.

In the fall of this year 580,000 men will be discharged into the reserve at a stroke. People who have served two years under the old law, plus people who have served 18 months under the new law. There is practically no one to take their place.

There will be no one to guard arms and ammunition dumps, compounds containing combat equipment and arms, aircraft parking spaces and ship anchorages, air defense missile combat positions, and a great deal else besides, even leaving aside the Army's ability to meet and service its own needs. In saying this I would not like to scare anyone with anything. These are just figures.

The 100,000 professionals whom the Supreme Soviet has allowed us to recruit on contract and whose pay has been funded by money allocated by the Finance Ministry do not solve the problem. It will be almost impossible to keep the Army from disintegration, from the mass theft of weapons and ammunition—that is the prime problem even today—and at a minimum level of combat readiness. Even today the workload of warrant officers and officers and of the soldiers and sergeants who still remain in the ranks is two or three times sensible norms, and no specialist is venturing to predict what will happen in the fall. Or to be more accurate, is venturing to offer a comforting forecast.

How can the situation be rectified and how can the crisis of undermanning the Army is experiencing be alleviated somehow?

Unfortunately there are not very many options here. The simplest option is the sharp reduction of the Armed Forces. This is already being carried out, and by 1995 our Army will make up 1 percent of Russia's population—1.5 million men. And it will be left with no more than 920,000 soldiers and sergeants. Admittedly, today there are considerably fewer than that in the ranks.

Officers and warrant officers are not keen to take the places of their subordinates in combat posts. They are already sick of sentry duty and of serving as duty stokers in boilerhouses. Some 79,000 left the Army in 1992, partly for these reasons. Over 270,000 will leave this year. Half of them without a pension. You do not have to conjecture what niches these people are going to fill.

The Defense Ministry asks the Supreme Soviet to look into the real state of affairs, to help to rectify the situation at least for a while—until 1 January 1995—and to lift for this period the draft deferment for students at vocational and technical schools, technical schools, and other elementary and secondary vocational training institutions who already have a graduation certificate. No one will lay a finger on those who are studying there after 8th grade.

According to the calculations of General Staff specialists, 55,000 young men with secondary education are studying there. That is almost one-fifth of the modest draft resources that Russia has to man its troops in the present conditions. This addition to the Army would be simply a life-saver in order to eliminate the crisis.

Admittedly, on 19 May legislators already examined this request from the military, but they decided to extend the restriction only to those who had reached the age of 20 by draft day. There are a little over 1,000 such people in the country—you could not man even a single motorized rifle regiment with them.

As a result, so General Staff specialists say, instead of a specific solution to the problem connected with improving the situation in Army and Navy manpower acquisition, our parliamentarians have merely issued yet another declaration of extremely limited practical use.

Yeltsin Issues Orders To Commemorate 'Remembrance Day'

PM0806091793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jun 93 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Fatherland Defenders' Remembrance Day"]

[Text] In connection with the holding of Fatherland Defenders' Remembrance Day on 22 June 1993, the Russian Federation president has issued a directive to heads of executive authorities in Russian Federation republics, krays, and oblasts, the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, and autonomous entities and to local administration chiefs instructing them to analyze the state of work on implementing the Russian Federation

Law "On Perpetuating the Memory of Those Who Died Defending the Fatherland" and to devise measures to commemorate Fatherland Defenders' Remembrance Day and designed to restore and tidy up soldiers' graves, monuments, and obelisks, perpetuate the memory of those who died, and step up military-patriotic and research work.

Organizing committees must be set up with the participation of social protection agencies, veterans' organization councils, and other public associations to coordinate work on preparing and holding Fatherland Defenders' Remembrance Day functions, and specific measures must be adopted to survey the living conditions of war veterans and disabled former soldiers in order to help improve their housing conditions and their medical, social, and consumer services.

During the period 12-22 June 1993 there will be an All-Russia Memorial Vigil, during which work will be organized on setting up gravestones, monuments, stelae, and obelisks and carrying out other measures to perpetuate the memory of people who died defending the Fatherland.

Armed Forces Leaders To Meet To Discuss Training

LD0706164593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1154 GMT 7 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Jun—The summing up of the results of the winter training of troops and naval forces and clarifying tasks for the summer training period is the main aim of the operational assemblies of the leadership of the Russian Armed Forces. As an ITAR-TASS correspondent was told today by the Russian Defense Ministry, the three-day assemblies will begin on 8 June and take place in Moscow at the General Staff's Military Academy and the Military Engineering Academy and also at one of the Moscow military district's formations. The conducting of a series of tactical exercises is envisaged within this framework. The first day of the assemblies will take place under the leadership of Lieutenant General Mikhail Kolesnikov, chief of the Russian Armed Forces General Staff, and they will then be headed by Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev.

Arms Sales Figures for 1992 Still Classified

MK0806085693 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 23, 8 Jun 93 (signed to press 7 Jun) p 2

[Pavel Felgengauer report under the "Secrets" rubric: "Real Openness Comes Hard to Russia. Arms Export Figures Still Classified"]

[Excerpts] In December 1991 the Soviet Union supported UN General Assembly Resolution 46/36 L on the creation of a conventional weapons register. Voting against was only the socialist bloc (the People's Republic of China abstained). Russia, which took over the USSR's seat in the United Nations several weeks later, fully supported Resolution 46/36. [passage omitted]

By 11 May, 47 countries had sent their information to the United Nations. Among them were the main Western arms manufacturers and exporters: the United States, Britain, France, the FRG, Italy, Brazil.... Information was provided by China—the main buyer of Russian arms in 1992—as well as by Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Georgia. Even Cuba acceded to the register reporting that it had neither bought nor sold any heavy weapons in 1992.

The data the countries supplied for the inclusion into the register surely had to be verified. There could be discrepancies between the "sellers" and "buyers" as to the number or types of equipment supplied. The register is being compiled precisely in order to discover and, if possible, cut short illegal arms deliveries.

Russia, however, is more than a month behind the deadline for submitting its 1992 arms sales figures. Some high-ranking officials in the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs do not rule out that "military-technology cooperation" data for 1992 will not be declassified after all.

This is not the usual red tape. The delay in releasing the data is obviously due to more solid reasons: To declassify 1992 arms trade figures may do some damage to the international prestige of—if not the country as a whole—some powerful agencies in particular.

Your SEGODNYA correspondent was assured by Petr Litavrin, section head of the export control and military conversion administration of the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that the "Foreign Ministry has done all in its power to supply the data on time. The document agreed with the agencies is under government review at the moment. If (and when) it is declassified, the reason for the delay should become evident.

Kalashnikov Plant Authorized To Sell Weapons Abroad

PM0406100193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "Kalashnikov Firm First in Russia To Receive Right To Trade in Military Equipment"]

[Text] The Russian Government has given the foreign trade firm bearing the name of military designer Mikhail Kalashnikov the right to sell its own weapons.

So far "Kalashnikov" has acquired the opportunity to experiment until the end of this year. Contracts worth $150 million are already ready for signing. There is also an agreement on deferments of customs duties. When the firm acquires capital it will have to settle its accounts.

Ministry Announces Successful Space Complex Test

WA0706120493 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Russia has successfully tested a super light and mobile rocket and space complex dubbed Start. It was built at the request of commercial structures and on their money. It will be used to launch communications satellites and space laboratories. Today Russia is the only space power having rockets of such class. This has been announced at the press center of the Defense Ministry. The Start complex can launch vehicles weighing up to one tonne to orbits up to 1,000 kilometers. This is one example of the conversion of Russia's defense factories.

Supreme Soviet

Khasbulatov, Parliament Leaders Hold Closed Session

LD0706141493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1406 GMT 7 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow June 7 TASS—Russian parliament leaders gathered on Monday [7 June] in the office of Ruslan Khasbulatov to discuss their attitude towards the constitutional assembly now underway in the Kremlin, according to the parliamentary press service.

The Presidium was expected to hold a session this afternoon, but Khasbulatov unexpectedly invited its members to a closed-door meeting in his office.

Khasbulatov's 'Personality' Discussed

LD0706195493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 7 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Journalists could only hope that members of the [Supreme Soviet] Presidium would, maybe, tell us what took place behind closed doors [at the Constitutional Conference following postponement of the 7 June session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium]. Sergey Kovalev was the first to appear in the corridor.

[Begin Kovalev recording] We discussed the incidents of 5 June. We discussed the statement by a number—of eight members—of the Presidium concerning the poor situation within the Presidium, Khasbulatov's arbitrariness, and, generally speaking, the style of work of the Supreme Soviet. [end recording]

Replying to a question of what Khasbulatov's reply to the statement by the Presidium members was like, Sergey Kovalev said:

[Begin Kovalev recording] Nothing. For the time being he is listening, he will make his reply yet. [end recording]

Oleg Rumyantsev said many people today agreed that it was necessary to demand that the Constitutional Conference should work more constructively and to demand that an agreed draft should be elaborated, rather than putting finishing touches to the presidential draft. According to Rymyantsev, Presidium members expressed various views concerning the personality of Khasbulatov himself and when the issue was debated:

[Begin Rumyantsev recording] Khasbulatov was silent. [end recording]

Presidium Leadership Criticized

LD0806083793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0751 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—The leadership of the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet, including parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, were sharply criticised during a closed meeting of the Presidium, which continued for almost three hours running in the evening of June 7.

"First of all, the Presidium discussed the style of the work of the Supreme Soviet's leadership," Presidium member Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of the parliamentary Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations, told ITAR- TASS.

According to Ambartsumov, "the Presidium was unanimous that the discussion of the style of the work of the Supreme Soviet and its leadership came much too late and should have been held much earlier". The Presidium also discussed the constitutional process. "Many speakers said that it was necessary to join this work more actively and that a mistake was committed when the process was joined much too late," Ambartsumov stated. "But, on the other hand, serious criticism was also levelled at the Saturday [5 June] events during the first plenary meeting of the constitutional conference in the Kremlin," he added.

Leaders Split on Walkout

LD0706171693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1710 GMT 7 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow June 7 TASS—Members of the Parliament Presidium are split in assessing the behaviour of their chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov who stormed out of the constitutional conference hall after he was denied the floor on Saturday [5 June], according to Secretary of the Constitutional Commission Oleg Rumyantsev.

He told reporters after a closed-door meeting of the Parliamentary Presidium on Monday that "most contradicting assessments" of Khasbulatov's actions were voiced.

The speaker "mostly kept silent", he said, but gave no further details.

The Presidium did not arrive to any conclusion, according to Rumyantsev who said it was hardly possible "to expect any final document" to be adopted.

The split in the Parliament leadership was first signalled by deputy speaker Nikolay Ryabov who supported the convocation of the Constitutional Assembly and called to end the conflict with the president. Later Rumyantsev and Khasbulatov himself confirmed that there are disagreements in the Presidium.

Yeltsin To Meet With Presidium 8 Jun

LD0706123593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Boris Yeltsin is ready for constructive cooperation with those members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium who show willingness to do this, Sergey Filatov told a correspondent from Russia's Information Agency. There is to be a meeting tomorrow between Boris Yeltsin and a group of Supreme Soviet Presidium members.

Parliament To Discuss Constitutional Conference 'Incident'

LD0806082993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0718 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—An incident which occurred on the day when the Constitutional Conference opened in the Kremlin, will be discussed at a joint session of the Russian parliament on Wednesday [9 June], Anatoliy Anikeyev, deputy chairman of the Chamber of Nationalities, announced today, opening a plenary session of the chamber.

According to Anikeyev, this resolution was adopted at a session of the Presidium of the Russian parliament, held behind closed doors on Monday.

Khasbulatov To Address Session

LD0806094893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov will make a speech on issues connected with the course of the constitutional process at a session of the Supreme Soviet tomorrow, 9 June. The issue of Khasbulatov's possible return to the Constitutional Conference, which he left on Saturday [5 June] after he was prevented from speaking, will also be discussed. In Ruslan Khasbulatov's words—quoted by Karelian Supreme Soviet Chairman Viktor Stepanov in an interview with INTERFAX—it is precisely the Supreme Soviet that must now determine the chairman's next steps.

Law on Labor Protection Approved

LD0406121893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1131 GMT 4 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Philippov]

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—"The fundamentals of labour protection law of the Russian Federation" lays down a common procedure to regulate relations in the sphere of labour protection between employers and employees. The law was adopted by the Supreme Soviet of Russia today.

The document establishes rights and obligations for workers and employers and envisages responsibilities of the latter for violations of labour protection norms.

For example, the fundamental law introduces restrictions connected with heavy work and with harmful and dangerous working conditions. It is forbidden to employ women of childbearing age and people under 21 for such jobs, and also those for whom such work is contra-indicated.

Proceedings of 3 Jun Evening Session Viewed

PM0706144993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Parliamentary Observer Aleksandr Linkov report: "Sixth Session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. Parliament Determines Its Position on Candidacy for Constitutional Conference"]

[Text] The 3 June evening sitting was mainly devoted to an examination of the draft Supreme Soviet Decree on the Course of Further Work on the Draft New Constitution, prepared by a Constitutional Commission working group. This document proposes that the basic provisions of the official draft that has been prepared should be agreed with the Russian president by 30 June. Then the Supreme Soviet will specify, together with the Federation components, certain problems connected with the implementation of the Federation Treaty. Naturally, all the suggestions and elaborations which will be worked out at various conferences going on at the moment will also need to be taken into account. Subsequently a single draft of the fundamental law will be submitted for a three-month national discussion. After that there will be one month for final additional work, taking into consideration addenda, comments, and coordination with the the Russian president, the Supreme Soviet, the Constitutional Commission, and two-thirds of the Federation components.

On 17 November the draft decree is to be submitted to the Congress of People's Deputies. It will have to either

give it a first reading or ratify it. But if the Congress refuses to do this, then it will be instructed to adopt a law on a constitutional assembly, under which such an assembly will have the freedom to resolve the constitutional crisis.

According to Constitutional Commission Executive Secretary O. Rumyantsev, the given version of the decree is geared to cooperation and seeking compromise. However, by no means all the parliamentarians share his optimism, because they believe that the presidential side is scarcely going to respond, judging, for example, by the latest utterance by V. Shumeyko.

Following an exchange of opinions, a decision was taken not to adopt the proposed draft decree right off but to do so at the next plenary sitting.

On 3 June the Supreme Soviet ratified the Treaty on the Principles of Relations Between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Turkey, as well as the Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation Between the Russian Federation and Mongolia.

The Russian Federation Pension Fund budget for the second quarter of this year was ratified yesterday at the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet session. The Law on the Budget stipulates that over 1,584 billion rubles will be channeled into the payment of pensions and subsidies which are mainly financed by insurance premiums, and also the payment of repayment pensions, out of republic budget resources. A total of 2 billion rubles will be channeled into organizing a data base on those who pay insurance contributions, and 9 billion for maintaining the organs of the actual fund.

Conference of Soviets Calls For 'Civil Accord'

PM0406182793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Jun 93 Single Edition p 1

[Unsigned appeal adopted by participants in the All-Russia Conference of Representatives of Soviets of People's Deputies of All Levels to Citizens of the Russian Federation: "We Call for Civil Accord and Collaboration," dated 1 June 1993, Moscow]

[Text] We, people's deputies of Russian Federation soviets of people's deputies of all levels, gathered at an historically crucial moment in the development of society, voice concern at the worsening of the socioeconomic situation and the political destabilization in the country.

Against the backdrop of shaky Russian statehood and the further increase in the economic and political crisis attempts are being made to belittle, discredit, and altogether nullify the role played by the Russian Federation's constitutional organs—the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet—in preparing and adopting the country's new constitution.

Under these conditions we firmly and resolutely state our commitment to the principle of a new Russian Federation Constitution (fundamental law) being formulated and adopted solely within a constitutional framework on the basis of Russian laws and the Federation Treaty. Any conferences to discuss drafts of the new constitution can only have the status of a consultative organ.

We are opposed to the constitutional process' being artificially rushed and excessively politicized. A new constitution to decide the country's future cannot be adopted in haste, to please the interests of a definite group of people. The constitution must accord with the interests of people, with the interests of the peoples and components of the Russian Federation. It cannot bear the stamp of political expediency.

The new constitution must resolve the questions of safeguarding people's rights and freedoms, the separation of powers, and the decentralization of state government on the basis of the redistribution of powers and competence between federal bodies, components of the Federation, and organs of local self-government, as well as matters pertaining to the integrity of Russian Federation territory and the unity of its state system.

At present the main element in the activity of organs of state power and management is practical action and constructive work to implement the economic reform, which is designed to benefit the peoples of Russia and strengthen Russian statehood while unfailingly complying with the current Russian Federation Constitution.

On this basis we call for civil accord and collaboration among all public forces in resolving the problems that have come to a head.

Adopted at the All-Russia Conference of People's Deputies of Soviets of All Levels.

[Dated] Moscow, 1 June 1993.

Decree on Enactment of 1993 Budget Law

PM0406122793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jun 93 First Edition pp 6,7

[Decree of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet "On the Enactment of the Russian Federation Law 'On the Russian Federation Republic Budget for 1993'," dated 14 May and signed by R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet]

[Text] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet **decrees**:

1. To enact the Russian Federation Law "On the Russian Federation Republic Budget for 1993" from the moment it is adopted.

2. That the Council of Ministers-Russian Federation Government will:

a) specify, by 20 May 1993, the indicators of the Russian Federation republic budget for 1993 for income and expenditure and submit them for examination by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet;

b) take into consideration the observations and proposals of standing commissions of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet chambers and committees on the budget message of the Russian Federation president to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet "On the Russian Federation Budget System for 1993" when specifying the indicators of the Russian Federation republic budget for 1993;

c) every quarter, no later than the 30th of the month following the period under review, present to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet information on the implementation of the Russian Federation budget in terms of income and expenditure;

d) elaborate and submit for examination by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet proposals on the procedure for issuing goods to the population by way of payment of the bonds of the 1990 state targeted interest-free loan, and on the full settlement of "Harvest-90" checks and counter-sales by farmers handing over agricultural output to the state and the consumer cooperative system;

e) grant subventions and subsidies to budgets of national-state and administrative-territorial formations only on condition that they carry out their commitments to the Russian Federation republic budget;

f) coordinate with the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet by 15 April 1993 the list of federal organs of state power and administration financed out of the Russian Federation republic budget;

g) within a two-month period, draw up and submit proposals on the development of joint scientific research at higher educational establishments and scientific institutions of the Russian Academy of Sciences as well as the more efficient use of their science-teaching cadres and materials base;

h) allocate the necessary funds in ruble equivalent to compensate hard currency expenditure on purchases of imported rolling stock for the transportation complex in 1992-1993;

i) by 1 July 1993 cancel the indebtedness of enterprises and organizations located in areas of the Extreme North and equivalent localities in terms of compensation of 50 percent of the charge for transporting output (goods) to these areas and localities, and also the difference in interest rates on the preferential credit issued to these enterprises and organizations in 1992;

when specifying the indicators of the Russian Federation budget for 1993, take into account the necessary funds for compensating the aforesaid enterprises and organizations for the difference in interest rates on the preferential credit granted by the Central Bank of the Russian Federation for the delivery of output (goods) to areas of the Extreme North and equivalent localities in 1993;

j) recompense the Russian Federation Committee for Geology and the Use of Natural Resources for the expenditure involved in paying off the credits from the Central Bank of the Russian Federation issued in 1992 for funding geological exploratory work carried out in 1992, to a total of 36.8 billion rubles [R];

k) elaborate in the second quarter of 1993 a procedure for calculating revenue received by the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense from the sale and recycling of weapons and military hardware, and for the expenditure of this money;

l) take an inventory in the second quarter of 1993 of enterprises producing weapons and military hardware and make proposals on the rational use of their capacities;

m) authorize the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations in coordination with the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense, from the second quarter of 1993, to sell on the foreign market output that has been manufactured under the defense order with subsequent compensation to the Russian Federation republic budget for expenditure in this connection;

n) prepare before 15 May 1993 a program for installation of the Russian Federation state border;

o) specify standards for deductions from value-added tax and the sum total of subsidies to budgets of national-state and administrative-territorial formations in connection with the transfer from the said budgets to the Russian Federation republic budget of funding of expenditure on maintaining Russian Federation Ministry of Education vocational and technical schools, as well as territorial management organs of regional and specialized analytical monitoring inspectorates of the Russian Federation Ministry of the Environment and Natural Resources;

p) elaborate a provision on the procedure for paying interest to banks for granting credits for the construction of housing for victims of political repressions living in rural localities;

q) determine the list of enterprises to be included in the state investment program and the program for the conversion of the defense industry, which are being carried out on the basis of bank credits;

r) single out as a separate entry every autonomous okrug as an autonomous component of the Russian Federation when compiling forecast indicators of socioeconomic development;

s) prepare by 1 April 1993 and submit for ratification by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet proposals to allot to budgets of national-state and administrative-territorial formations income of at least 60 percent of the revenue part of the relevant minimum budget, and if this

is not possible—at least 60 percent of the revenue part of the minimum budget without taking into account in it the subsidies and subventions;

t) elaborate together with the components of the Russian Federation a provision on conciliation commissions to examine the draft budgets of national-state and administrative-territorial formations;

u) allocate to the Russian Space Agency by 1 May 1993 up to 40 percent of the volumes of appropriations stipulated in the Russian Federation republic budget for 1993 for financing Russia's Federal Space Program;

v) allocate to the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense funds to pay off the debt to enterprises and organizations for the defense output they manufactured in 1992 on the basis of its actual volume and within the limits of the state order;

w) fully finance measures to improve the environmental situation in the city of Chapayevsk in Samara Oblast from the Russian Federation republic budget in accordance with the decision of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government;

x) take into consideration when specifying the indicators of the Russian Federation republic budget for 1993 the proposals of standing commissions of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet chambers and committees on compensating the difference in interest rates on preferential credits as follows:

for individual housing construction of young people's housing complexes—R27 billion;

for housing construction for internationalist servicemen and young families with refugee status—R1 billion;

for the construction or purchase of housing and the provision of economic facilities [khozyaystvennoye obustroystvo] in areas in the central zone of Russia for Russian Federation citizens who have worked for 10 or more years in the Extreme North—R4.25 billion;

for individual housing cooperative construction—R27 billion;

y) elaborate by 1 May 1993 a provision on inflation-indexed compensation for the expenditure of national-state and administrative-territorial formations in connection with the implementation of decisions on socioeconomic questions being adopted by the Russian Federation president, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government.

3. In accordance with the decree of the Seventh Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies dated 5 December 1992 "On the Course of Economic Reform in the Russian Federation," to channel into the budgets of national-state and administrative-territorial formations for the funding of health-care measures funds being released as a result of the abolition of the institution of the Russian Federation president's representatives in the localities, totaling R600 million.

4. To discontinue, as of 1 March 1993, the funding of the Russian Federal Information Center out of the Russian Federation republic budget, which totaled R34 million, channeling these funds into the financing of national education.

5. Altering Point 3 of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Decree "On Ratification of the Regulation [Polozheniye] on the State Nonbudget Fund for the Reproduction of the Russian Federation's Minerals and Raw Materials Base" dated 25 February 1993, to enact the said Regulation as of 1 January 1994 in respect of the formation of the State Nonbudget Fund for the Reproduction of the Russian Federation's Minerals and Raw Materials Base.

To establish that in 1993 deductions for the reproduction of the minerals and raw materials base enter the Russian Federation republic budget and are used to finance work connected with geological studies of mineral resources, prospecting and evaluating mineral deposits, and also the completion of prospecting work at mineral deposits on the basis of projects ratified before the enactment of the Russian Federation Law "On Mineral Resources."

6. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet will examine the proposal of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government and the Central Bank of the Russian Federation on the implementation as of 1993 of the Program for a Single State Information Network for the Banking, Financial and Credit, and Taxation Systems.

7. To establish that member states of the CIS and Azerbaijan and Georgia will only be granted credits if there are relevant intergovernmental agreements ratified by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and within the limits of the expenditure for these purposes allowed for in the Russian Federation republic budget for 1993.

8. To note that the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government has not carried out the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet decree dated 29 January 1993 "On Financing State Expenditure out of Russian Federation Budgets in the First Quarter of 1993 and on Organizing Work on the Budget Message of the Russian Federation President for 1993" as regards presenting the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet with detailed indicators of hard currency revenue and expenditure on foreign economic activity in 1993.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government will present to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet by 1 May 1993 a program of the foreign economic activity of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government, and, together with the Central Bank of the Russian Federation—a currency plan and balance sheet for 1993.

9. Given the special geopolitical conditions of Kaliningrad Oblast and the critical socioeconomic situation, the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government will elaborate a program for the development of Kaliningrad Oblast aimed at the strengthening and installation of the borders, the provision of fuel and energy resources, social protection for the population, the construction of housing, and social protection for servicemen and members of their families.

10. To adopt the proposal of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government and authorize the Central Bank of the Russian Federation to grant:

a credit of up to R300 billion in addition to the credit envisaged by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Decree "On Financing State Expenditure Out of the Russian Federation Republic Budget in the First Quarter of 1993" for financing defense industry conversion projects;

an investment credit of up to R400 billion;

a credit totaling R6,566.3 billion to cover the Russian Federation republic budget deficit.

11. With the aim of reducing the Russian Federation republic budget deficit, to authorize the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government to carry out in 1993 an emission of state short-term non-voucher bonds totaling at least R650 billion.

12. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Defense and Security Committee and the Budget Monitoring Committee under the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet will within a one-month period analyze and assess the validity of the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense calculations on 1993 expenditure on the defense of the Russian Federation.

13. The Russian Federation State Committee for Statistics will provide a separate entry for each autonomous okrug in all forms of accountability reporting.

14. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republic's Budget, Plans, Taxes, and Prices Commission, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Commission for Questions of the Social and Economic Development of Republics Within the Russian Federation, the Autonomous Oblast, Autonomous Okrugs, and Small Peoples, and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and the Development of Self-Government are to prepare proposals on changes to the legislative acts concerning granting national-state and administrative-territorial formations rights to autonomously determine rates of payment for land, taxation on the property of legal entities, and also concerning granting representative organs of power the right to introduce individual tax privileges for individual payers under specific commitments and paying the tax on municipal enterprises' profit into the appropriate budgets.

15. With the participation of relevant scientific research institutes and higher educational economic and financial institutions, the Russian Federation Ministry of the Economy, the Russian Federation Ministry of Finances, and the Russian Academy of Sciences will create a working group to elaborate a single method for forming a system of social and financial standards which correspond to the conditions of the market economy, will determine and allocate the necessary funding and material resources for this, and will within a two-month period submit proposals prepared on this question to the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium.

16. Taking into consideration proposals of the standing commissions of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet chambers and committees, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republic Budget, Plans, Taxes, and Prices Commission will elaborate and present by 15 May 1993 for ratification by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet a model of the Russian Federation republic budget for 1994.

17. The Russian Federation president, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government will establish the maximum number of workers in the apparatus and the maximum number of workers in the apparatus of the Russian Federation ministries and departments for 1993. Expenditure on maintaining the Russian Federation president's Administration and the apparatus of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government is to be approved separately.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet
[Dated] 14 May 1993; Moscow, House of the Soviets of Russia

No. 4968-1

Regional Affairs

Chechen Prime Minister on Sovereignty, Economy

MK0506104693 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No 62, 5 Jun 93 (signed to press 4 Jun) p 1

[Interview with Chechen Prime Minister Yaragi Mamodayev by Vladimir Vyunitskiy under the "First Person Singular" rubric: "Chechnya Will Not Fly Away With Its Problems"; place and date not given]

[Text] Yaragi Mamodayev, in the not so distant past first deputy prime minister in a cabinet headed by Dzhokhar Dudayev, was forced to resign along with the government by the Chechen president, but was later brought back to head the executive branch at the request of an all-Chechen rally and appointed by parliament head of the cabinet during the recent events in the Chechen Republic. At the end of May and early in June he, before completing the formation of a coalition government,

visited Moscow as head of an official delegation. The visit had two objectives—to ask Russia to assist in the elimination of the effects of heavy rain and mud slides that affected many areas of Chechnya, and to resume Russian-Chechen talks, which have been halted thanks to Dzhokhar Dudayev's efforts.

[Vyunitskiy] Yaragi Magomedovich, what caused the heightening of tensions in Chechnya and the destabilization of the situation in the republic? Was this related to internal reasons, or to external factors?

[Mamodayev] On the entire territory of the former Soviet Union and in Chechnya, as its former part, similar processes are under way—the downturn in production, the worsening of the social and economic situation, the deepening of crisis... This aggravated political problems in our republic also. It can be said that this reflects the disgruntlement of the population with the practical results of the course initiated in the fall of 1991. Its ultimate goals—sovereignty, self-determination—continue to be supported and shared by our people and have been laid down in the Chechen Republic Constitution. But we wanted to become a sovereign republic not for the sake of sovereignty as such: this was a precondition for resolving social problems of our people.

Let me remind you: With regard to social and economic indicators our republic trailed in last, 73d place in Russia. In the Soviet Union, too, no one intended to invest money in our social development. This is despite the fact that our economy was one dimensional—the petrochemical sector accounted for 90 percent of the republic's economic potential, which has importance for exports. It is in order to use our natural resources and our capacities for the benefit of our people that we achieved self-determination, declared ourselves a sovereign state. We promised the people who live on our land that their lives would improve...

[Vyunitskiy] Have you managed to do something in the past 18 months?

[Mamodayev] Little has been done, and in the end it has led to the aggravation of political problems. Judge for yourself: The minimum salary in the republic is currently 2,250 rubles [R], and the consumer price index is estimated at 11,000. At present we are planning to raise the minimum salary to 13,000, but we expect that inflation will call for yet other adjustments. The situation on the labor market is also tense. The petrochemical sector, including its basic and auxiliary industries, employs slightly more than 35,000 people, while in other sectors of the economy and in the countryside there is a surplus of manpower...

[Vyunitskiy] Have you attempted to improve the situation on the labor market?

[Mamodayev] Yes, we pinned high hopes on the creation of small and medium-sized businesses in the countryside and expected to purchase abroad the requisite technologies. Contracts have already been signed. We planned to pay for them with our proceeds from oil and oil product sales. The order whereby earnings from oil sales were to be used for this purpose, however, turned out to have been implemented by only 8 percent. The bulk of the sales were regulated by President Dudayev's edicts. Furthermore, he has never accounted for how the money from these transactions was spent. At least it never found its way into Chechnya, into its economy. And this is nearly $1 billion. Given that our budget was only R11 billion, you can imagine how better our republic would have fared had those dollars been received by its treasury. Calculated at the dollar's average annual exchange rate this would amount to R250-300 billion.

[Vyunitskiy] Do people in the republic know about this?

[Mamodayev] Yes, they do. I suggested that President Dudayev and I jointly account to the people for what we had to do and what was actually done, at least in order to make it clear why I did not fulfill my promises. In private one-on-one conversations he appeared to agree, but when I officially asked him to do so he refused to account to the people.

[Vyunitskiy] Nonetheless, Dudayev enjoys the support of some segments of the people...

[Mamodayev] He skillfully exploits the image of an external enemy, obviously coordinating his steps with certain forces in Moscow. In the face of an external threat the Chechens have always forgotten their disagreements and closed ranks. At present, again, he will use the renewal of the state of emergency in Ingushetia to boost his standing.

Nonetheless, currently Dudayev is in dire straits. The Chechen Republic Constitutional Court has deemed his actions—the dissolution of the lawfully elected authorities and an attempt to usurp power—to be criminal ones. Now the people will decide at a referendum on his powers and on his possible dismissal from office.

[Vyunitskiy] Yaragi Magomedovich, in this complex situation you turned out to be a compromise figure, who was nominated by a rally and who has immense moral influence in Chechnya, supported by parliament and accepted by the opposition... Are you aware of your responsibility?

[Mamodayev] Were it not for the awareness of responsibility, I would have quit politics and set about doing my own business. Making up my mind was not easy, either. Setting up a workable coalition government is a tough job. The government, in my view, should work as a single team, implementing a joint program and not a set of programs by each minister.

[Vyunitskiy] Whose program will your cabinet implement then—the president's, parliament's, or that of the rally?

[Mamodayev] No, it will realize the program I myself drew up—naturally, with some amendments that would probably be made by five opposition ministers.

[Vyunitskiy] The status of interethnic relations in the Chechen Republic holds particular interest for FEDERATSIYA readers.

[Mamodayev] Despite what has been written by some mass media, there is no harassment of the non-Chechen population in the republic. Nor do we have mass, avalanche-like departures, although people do leave for various personal reasons. Some of them, however, later return. The republic has an operating Ethnic Council, comprising representatives of all peoples living in Chechnya, including Galkin, chief of the Cossacks from Groznyy. Boris Asaturov, chairman of the council, was nominated by this body to join the coalition government as deputy chairman of the State Nationalities Committee.

[Vyunitskiy] How do you assess relations between the Chechen Republic and Russia? How are the talks in Moscow proceeding?

[Mamodayev] We intend to foster our relations with the Russian Federation as the ties between two sovereign states. We do not, however, plan to leave the ruble zone, the common economic zone, or the common military and strategic area. A mutual delegation of powers in these areas may produce what we call a reasonable confederation.

As for the talks in Moscow, they have been marked by understanding although this is not always the case. For instance, it was suggested at one of the meetings that we sign the Federation Treaty. But we intend to remain a sovereign state and do not want the Chechen Republic Constitution to be subordinate to that of the Russian Federation. This is why we prefer a different framework as the basis for relations between our two countries—a constitutional and treaty-based one.

[Vyunitskiy] Still, you believe in the good future of Russian-Chechen relations?

[Mamodayev] Yes, I do, because they are of mutual benefit. For some reason, there is a belief that we alone are interested in normal relations with Russia. But Russia, too, is no less interested in good ties with Chechnya. With our capacities, we annually process 12 million tonnes of Russian oil and send the resulting oil products back to Russia. Creating such capacities would take you at least 15 years. Why should Russia waste time and money if Chechnya is able to help it?

Relations can be normal. It is important, however, for Moscow to realize that Chechnya will never fly away with its territory and its problems, so you will have to learn to live side by side with it. And we are ready to be Russia's neighbor.

98 Percent of Chechens 'Against' Dudayev

LD0706214993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] The results of the referendum held on 5 June in various populated areas of the republic of Chechnya are now known, INTERFAX reports. As is known, the population was asked at the referendum whether it is worthwhile keeping the institute of president in the republic and whether pre-term parliamentary and presidential elections should be held. Of 36,000 participants in the referendum, 98 percent were against presidential rule and General Dudayev. Meanwhile, as the government agency CHECHEN PRESS reports, in the administrative center of Zugdidi in western Georgia, thousands gathered in support of Dudayev.

Ministers Take Over Mordovian President's Residence

LD0706231293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] The residence which was occupied by the president of Mordovia in Saransk has been taken over with the help of special units by a new Council of Ministers. It was formed by the republic's Supreme Soviet.

Investigation of Mordovian Pipeline Blast Begins

LD0806033793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Work continues to eliminate the aftermath of the blast on the trunk gas pipeline near Torbeyevo rayon center in Mordovia. This was reported to the ITAR-TASS correspondent by the duty official of the State Committee for Emergency Situations. In the course of the emergency work the apertures in the pipeline have been closed and now experts are checking for residual gas before eliminating the aftermath of the blast, clarifying its cause, and starting restoration work. According to Gazprom concern, as a result of the accident one person was killed and five have been taken to hospital.

Security Minister Barannikov Visits Far East

Visits Maritime Kray

OW0706085793 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0715 GMT 2 Jun 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Text] Viktor Barannikov, minister of security of the Russian Federation, held a conference yesterday with the operational staff of the Maritime Kray Security Department. The problems of strengthening state borders and the struggle against economic crimes were discussed. As for the plundering of Russian fish resources in the Okhotsk Sea, the minister emphasized that government-level talks on this issue are currently being held with the Americans, Koreans, Poles, and the Japanese.

Viktor Barannikov said at the conference that it is necessary to adjust the number of personnel in the ministry's structures in the Far East. A solution will be sought at the cost of internal reserves, as well as at the cost to the ministry. At the press conference, the minister

of security of the Russian Federation talked about the progressive development of a mechanism to conclude juridical relationships with countries of the Asian-Pacific region and the neighboring Russian Far East, specifically the Maritime Kray. Viktor Barannikov is holding a meeting in Khabarovsk today.

Visits Magadan, Confers With Security Chiefs

OW0606001893 Magadan Radio Magadan in Russian 0700 GMT 3 Jun 93

[From the "Oblast News"]

[Summary From Poor Reception] "A press conference was held today at the Magadan Department of Security on the results of the visit by Viktor Pavlovich Barannikov, minister of security.

"He arrived in Magadan by air on 1 June and spent half a day here. During this time, the general had time to conduct a two-hour conference with the department's operations staff, visit a border detachment, and meet with Mikhaylov, head of the oblast administration. The aim of the visit of such a high level guest was in connection with two problems, the protection of the state border, and the safe keeping of the precious metal obtained in the oblast. There turned out to be a number of other issues also. Listen to the recording made at the press conference by [name indistinct], our correspondent. At the microphone is Colonel Vadim Dmitriyevich Vlasnikov, deputy chief of the Magadan Security Department".

Vlasnikov says: [Words indistinct] "problems discussed at the conference concerned the strengthening of the fight against smuggling, since this problem directly affects the issue of stabilization of our economy and its recovery. [Words indistinct] the smuggling of raw materials, strategic materials, [words indistinct], especially since there is a redrawing of our borders going on at the moment."

The colonel says the problems of covering long sections of the border and re-establishing new border crossing access points were raised.

Discusses Crime

PM0306152993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jun 93 p 1

[Sergey Avdeyev report under the general heading "Statesmen Drawn to Sea": "Barannikov Drawn to Sea of Japan"]

[Text] Journalists simply did not discover why the Russian security minister flew to an atomic submarine base. On the other hand, Viktor Barannikov reported at a short press conference that he had discussed a no less worrying question with [Maritime] Kray and Vladivostok city leaders—the measures to fight crime. Details of the negotiations were not disclosed, though the new Maritime Kray Governor Yevgeniy Nazdratenko assured journalists that the results of the holy war will soon be felt.

The security minister evidently has a properly conceived plan. One of its elements is to halt the wave of economic crimes. Vladivostok and Nakhodka have, to use V. Barannikov's expression, turned into black holes, through which an enormous quantity of Russia's resources vanish.

Did those people who should know about this not know about it? It turns out that they did know. But the security men are tied hand and foot owing to the lack of a legal basis to stop the excesses.

The minister flew from Vladivostok to Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk and plans to go to Magadan from there.

Confers With Officials, Concludes Tour

OW0706130293 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0715 GMT 5 June 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Text] Viktor Barannikov, the Russian minister of security, has completed his work tour of the Far East. His last stop was in Khabarovsk, where the minister held a conference with the staff of the Khabarovsk Kray security department and with Far East border guards. They discussed problems of protecting the state border.

While in Vladivostok, Minister Barannikov touched upon the problems of Far East fishermen. Among other things, he said the government of the Russian Federation has signed a decree which would put an end to foreign poaching in the famous doughnut spot in the Sea of Okhotsk. The Minister added: We should put a stop to all kinds of pillaging of the Russian wealth. Vladivostok and Nakhodka are the big holes through which Russian resources flow abroad illegally.

Russian Bias Blamed for Ingush Suffering

PM0406115193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 2 Jun 93 p 7

[Yuliya Ulyanova transcript of statement by Khadzhimurat Khamkhoyev, permanent representative of the Ingush Republic to the Russian Federation president; place and date not given: "A High Cost To Pay: We Continue Our Discussion of the Causes of the Ossetian-Ingush Conflict"]

[Text] If the tragedy is not to be repeated we must reveal its causes, although it is particularly difficult to do this when ethnic problems are involved. In his article entitled "High Tension Zone," published on 21 May, Academician Magomet Isayev from Ossetia and Professor Khadzhi Murat Ibragimbeyli, representative of the Confederation of Peoples of the Caucasus, shared with readers their thoughts on the political circumstances

which contributed to the Ossetian-Ingush conflict. The discussion continues, and today Khadzhimurat Khamkhoyev, permanent representative of the Ingush Republic to the Russian Federation president, gives his viewpoint.

[Khamkhoyev] The consequences of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict are such that they could become the prologue to a national catastrophe for both Ossetians and Ingushes. Therefore no one can have as much interest in the advent of peace between the two peoples as they themselves.

Today no one can contest the fact that the Ingushes have spent 35 years fighting for their complete rehabilitation, including the restoration of territory—the return of Prigorodnyy Rayon and part of Malgobekskiy Rayon within the 1944 borders, plus the right-bank section of Vladikavkaz. Having been unlawfully deprived of their historic lands, my people have sought to regain them by wholly lawful means. The former USSR Supreme Soviet declaration deeming illegal the acts of repression against entire peoples, the laws of the Russian parliament on their complete rehabilitation and on the formation of the Ingush Republic, and other documents—surely these are evidence of the Ingushes' intention to restore their flouted rights by parliamentary means within the Constitution? Surely this bespeaks extreme restraint on the part of my people who, on the very first day of the conflict, were dubbed the aggressor by Ossetian and many Russian mass media? How could it be believed that the Ingushes, having advanced step by step toward their cherished goal and having essentially attained it, would agree to return to square one?

There must be serious analysis of the 18-month-long state of emergency—which the Ingushes find depressing—introduced in Prigorodnyy Rayon in April 1991, at a time when the Russian parliament was ready to adopt a law rehabilitating repressed peoples. Killings, explosions, the burning down of houses, pointless shootings, and insulting searches of Ingushes were all features of the state of emergency, the length of which dismayed Ingushes. Suffice it to say that 27 innocent Ingushes were killed during those 18 months by representatives of the Ossetian OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment], the National Guard, and self-defense detachments. And every anti-Ingush action was timed to coincide with a successful step taken toward resolving our problem.

Those who try today to find the guilty parties in the tragedy among the Ingushes might reflect on the series of murders committed between 20 and 31 October last. All those actions were carried out, I am convinced, with but one aim—to break the Ingushes' self-control and stymie the resolution of our question. But the Ingushes, no matter how tough it was for them, did not succumb to provocation. They appealed to the Russian leadership to put an end to the high-handed treatment of the Ingushes of Prigorodnyy Rayon and Vladikavkaz. But there was no response by the Russian law enforcement agencies to the hundreds and thousands of such appeals, and those responsible for such acts were not brought to justice. And who knows, if those agencies had promptly heeded the Ingushes' appeals the awful tragedy we suffered might not have happened.

And there is yet another argument in favor of the thesis that the Ossetian side made careful preparation for the conflict, namely the processes of militarization of North Ossetia which began some three to four years ago and were the object of state attention. Decisions to create formations such as the OMON, the National Guard, the militia, and self-defense detachments were made at sessions of parliament. The republic Supreme Soviet examined the question of arming those formations. The problem of organizing arms production at industrial enterprises was keenly debated at a session. Around 50 tanks, almost 20 other armored vehicles, and more than 70,000 small arms by no means represent the complete evidence of the extent to which the Ossetian side was prepared for the armed conflict. Plus the full support of the Russian troops, whose mission was not, I think, a peacemaking one. I should like to take this opportunity to say that former Vice Premier G. Khizha and Colonel General G. Filatov, who both headed the operation to destroy the Ingushes, should stand trial. The hundreds of Ingushes who have been killed and the tens of thousands without roofs over their head rest on their conscience. We have recordings of battle communications made by amateur radio operators and video and sound recordings of television broadcasts involving Khizha and Filatov which show their one-sided position in the conflict.

Incidentally, I regard this support as yet another cause of the tragedy. But for it, the Ossetian side would not have resolved to wage war.

I cite all these facts merely to show the illogicality of those who try to label the Ingushes as the initiators of the conflict. Would the Ingushes, armed, figuratively speaking, with sticks, really attack a neighboring republic equipped with awesome weaponry? They do not, after all, have a suicide complex.

The Ingushes have paid an unconscionably high price for the ethnic cleansing operations in Prigorodnyy Rayon and Vladikavkaz, operations drawn up in the top offices of North Ossetia and, I would venture to claim, Moscow. According to the Interim Administration's figures, out of the 546 people killed in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict by April 407 were Ingushes and 105 Ossetians. The war has cost the lives of 12 Ingush children and 41 women. The fate of almost 260 Ingushes remains unknown to date. Hostages account for more than 90 percent of the deaths. Ingush villages have been virtually wiped off the face of the earth, and that comes to over 5,000 buildings; 60,000 refugees are today unable to return to their destroyed and ruined homes.

This is the truth, but by no means the whole truth—the whole truth will, as has been the custom, clearly only be learned decades later. I believe that the Ingush people's path to truth and justice will not be as tragic as it has been these 75 years. This will depend to a large extent on

the Russian leadership which, we think, must unambiguously demand that the North Ossetian politicians return to the Ingushes what has historically belonged to them and of which they were deprived as a result of Stalinist repressions. And the paramount task is to to ensure the safe return of the more than 60,000 Ingush refugees, the hundreds of hostages, and the payment of compensation for damages. Russian politicians bear responsibility for the actions of the North Ossetian forces, which are exploiting the threat of armed conflict to hamper the return of Ingush refugees.

Russia as a federal state should have neither favorites nor outcasts among its members. All the peoples should enjoy equal rights. Such equality of rights is sought by the Ingush people.

'Bandit Gangs' on North Ossetian-Ingush Border

LD0706172093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Bandit gangs have become more active in the state of emergency zone on the border between North Ossetia and Ingushetia, RIA learned at the interim administration's press center. The other day in the village of Yuzhnyy, an operational group from the Russian Interior Ministry was stopped by eight fighters armed with grenade launchers and machine guns. Two armored personnel carriers that were sent to render assistance were fired upon with automatic weapons.

North Ossetia 'Unable To Cope' With Refugees

LD0806105793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1011 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Valeriy Shanayev and Mikhail Shevtsov]

[Text] Vladikavkaz June 8 TASS—The influx of refugees is growing into North Ossetia from the Chechen Republic, Ingushetia, Georgia and central Asia. As many as 153 families arrived in the republic this May alone. The total number of registered refugees has already reached 48,497. Only 10,000 out of this number are accommodated in 42 temporary lodgings. The others are living with their relatives or friends.

According to First Vice-Chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet Yuriy Bagirov, the influx of refugees into this small republic, which has always been short of land, their accommodation and unresolved social and living problems tend to aggravate tension in the republic and irritate the local population. "It is absolutely obvious," Bagirov said, "that North Ossetia alone is unable to cope with the problem of refugees. The Government of Russia, and possibly the other CIS nations, must render urgent aid to the republic."

The funeral of seven North Ossetians, shot dead by bandits on the military-Georgian [as received] highway on the night of June 6, took place today in the village of Gizel, the Prigorodny district of North Ossetia. According to verified data, the press centre of the North Ossetian parliament reports, the victims of the bandit raid were travelling on three "Kamaz" trucks, carrying about 11 tonnes of gasoline. A joint team has been set up to investigate the tragedy. It includes officers of the North Ossetian and Russian Interior and Security Ministries.

Yeltsin Failed To Keep Promises to Kuzbass Miners

PM0406122593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Threat to Kuzbass"]

[Text] "The mines of the southern Kuzbass rose up as of 1 June. A prestrike threat hangs again over the Kuzbass. Its consequences could be destructive both for the region and for the federal authorities." That was how Kemerovo Oblast Soviet Chairman Aman Tuleyev ended his appeal to Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

His charge is that the promises the president made to the miners during his April tour of the Kuzbass were nothing more than campaigning before the referendum.

Instead of the promised subsidy covering all the coal enterprises' production and social requirements, the fixed prices for coal will cover no more than 60 percent of expenditure. At the end of May the miners had received less than one-third of their quarterly subsidy. There is no money to pay wages and people are being forced to take leave.

"At your meeting with miners you claimed that you had already signed an edict canceling the price increases for rail shipments," Tuleyev reminds the president, "but this decision has still not been annulled. A fine of 2 percent is levied every day on overdue payments. The government is to blame for the fact that it now costs more to ship coal than to mine it."

Kuzbass coal enterprises, the oblast soviet chairman claims, are near to financial ruin. And the oblast will hardly be able to bear the burden of paying unemployment benefit and helping to find jobs for people.

Buryatiya Urges Federation To Initial Constitution

LD0106122893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0523 GMT 1 Jun 93

[ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Subbotin]

[Text] Ulan-Ude, 1 Jun (TASS)—Constitutional reform in the Russian Federation should be carried out in accordance with the procedure established by the current constitutional legislation. That is the conclusion of a resolution passed today by the Supreme Soviet of Buryatiya on the drafts of Russia's Basic law. In this respect,

having advocated drawing up a single version of the draft on the basis of the two documents, the supreme authority of the sovereign republic stressed the need for the document to be initialled in advance by the subjects of the Federation.

At the same time, should the Congress of People's Deputies reject the initialled text of the constitution, the parliament of Buryatiya proposed the following machinery to get out of the crisis: The Congress, endorsing the appropriate law and amendments to the current constitution, delegates the right to pass a new constitution to an assembly [sobraniye]. Should this not be formed for whatever reason, or should the basic law be unable to be adopted, and if the draft is not initialled by two-thirds of the subjects of the Federation, it should be put to an all-Russian referendum.

The session is continuing.

Tambov Conference Envoys Denied Voting Rights

PM0206151493 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Valeriy Mirolevich report: "Elected to Constitutional Conference Without Voting Rights"]

[Text] Tambov—An extraordinary session of Tambov Oblast Soviet has elected two representatives to the Constitutional Conference convened by the Russian president, while stipulating that by the will of the session they are deprived of the right to vote at the conference.

This is recorded in the Tambov deputies' decision thus, verbatim: "The oblast's representatives to the Constitutional Conference convened by the president are not vested with the right to sign a final version of the new Constitution or documents determining the procedure for its adoption."

It is all explained by the point in the decision which states categorically that only the Supreme Soviet or Congress can adopt the Constitution. So there is nothing to discuss at the conference—the Tambov comrades have decided everything already, for themselves and for the other citizens. They are sending their envoys just to meet their quota.

One of the two representatives nominated for the conference is Vladimir Babenko, Russian people's deputy and head of the oblast administration. He came out unequivocally in favor of the presidential draft Constitution, for which he was severely censured by people's deputies at the session. But since his fellow envoy from Tambov—A. Safonov, chairman of the city soviet and former first secretary of the CPSU gorkom [city party committee]—will not overstep the oblast soviet session's instructions without special permission, there can be no doubt that the Tambov people's deputies have set warning red flags around the dissident head of the administration.

Bashkir Leader Links Constitution, Federation Treaty

LD0406211493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Report by V. Baykov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Baykov] The Republic of Bashkir will soon be three years old. The single-channel budget has been working for one year. Bashkir signed the Federation Treaty, but with a special supplement providing for greater economic and political independence. The position of the republic, which is characterized primarily by its moderation and centrism, plays a significant role in the development of domestic political events in Russia. Therefore, both the Russian president and the speaker grant special attention to Murtaz Rakhimov, the head of the republic. What ideas is Murtaz Rakhimov taking with him to the constitutional conference?

[Rakhimov] We will be calling for the Federation Treaty to be made the basis of the new Constitution, so that our status is not diminished. It should even be increased to some extent, and we should have greater powers than we have at present.

International Affairs

Les Aspin Meets Officials, Concludes Visit

Meets With Kravchuk

LD0706131093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1135 GMT 7 Jun 93

[By Ukrinform correspondent Nikolay Zaika]

[Text] Kiev, 7 Jun (TASS)—"The talks between the military departments of Ukraine and the United States are proceeding successfully, and I have every reason to be satisfied with them," Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine, stated today in a conversation with Les Aspin, U.S. defense secretary, the first leader of the Pentagon to pay a visit to Ukraine.

"I drew the conclusion," the head of state stressed, "that the United States is striving to develop relations with Ukraine on the basis of a deep analysis of the processes that are taking place in our country and in the world as a whole." Leonid Kravchuk briefed the guest on the position of Ukraine with regard to the START I Treaty and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

Questions of expanding Ukrainian-American ties in the military sphere and other topical problems of mutual interest were touched upon during the conversation.

The program of Les Aspin's visit to Kiev includes a meeting with Colonel-General Konstyantyn Morozov, minister of defense of Ukraine, and a joint news conference by the heads of the military departments.

Describes Talks as 'Fruitful'

LD0706161393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1522 GMT 7 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Nikolay Zaika]

[Text] Kiev, 7 Jun (TASS)—Speaking at a news conference today, U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin described his visit to Kiev as fruitful and promising. He spoke highly of the outcome of his meetings with President Leonid Kravchuk and with parliamentarians, his talks with Defense Minister Colonel General Konstyantyn Morozov, and his conversations in the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

We succeeded in reaching an agreement on establishing long-term and broad relations with the Ukrainian military department, Les Aspin noted. First and foremost, working groups, which will examine a range of specific measures to implement these agreements, will be set up. Other proposals were also discussed, but no specific decisions were adopted. This will probably be done during the Ukrainian defense minister's visit to the United States, the Pentagon leader concluded.

Although the visit was a short one, the head of the Ukrainian military department said, we got through a great deal of fruitful work. A great number of issues, in particular cooperation in the sphere of training military cadres and of military medicine, were examined. Problems of nuclear disarmament and guaranteeing nuclear safety during the whole period of the elimination of these weapons were touched upon. Konstyantyn Morozov noted the U.S. desire to make a proper study of this problem. "The kindly attitude that the American side has shown toward an understanding of it, just as it has shown to an understanding of the whole range of problems facing the Ukraine," he noted, "is a basis for working out concrete decisions." At the same time, the defense minister again reaffirmed the unchanging nature of the Ukraine's policy of preserving its nuclear-free status. He said that nuclear warheads should remain on Ukrainian territory until a final decision is adopted on their destruction.

Holds Joint Press Conference

LD0706183793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin's official visit to Ukraine ended today, 7 June. In Kiev, he held negotiations with Ukrainian Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov, was received by President Leonid Kravchuk, and held meetings at the Foreign Affairs Ministry and the Supreme Council.

Kostyantyn Morozov and Les Aspin held a joint news conference on the visit for Ukrainian and foreign journalists. They expressed satisfaction with the results of their work. It was stressed, in particular, that this meeting has initiated a qualitatively new stage in mutual military contacts. It was also reported at the news conference that a visit by Kostyantyn Morozov to the United States is possible in the near future.

Outlines Results of Talks

LD0806000993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Tamara Kucherenko on joint news conference held by Defense Minister Konstyantyn Morozov and U.S. Secretary of Defense Les Aspin, including recorded statements by Morozov and Aspin, in Kiev on 7 June—recorded; Aspin speaks in English with superimposed translation into Ukrainian]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Kucherenko] Journalists were told that a huge number of issues of mutual interest were looked at during this visit. So what are they? Here is what Ukraine's Defense Minister Konstyantyn Morozov said:

[Morozov] First, I think that an accord is very important. Upon completion of the visit, we will form a joint working group that will consider practical measures to implement our accords on making cooperation between our departments and armed forces wider and deeper.

Personally I think that Mr. Aspin's visit and the consequences of our meetings were very fruitful and constructive. During this visit, we initiated a new level of our relations, which will have an essential effect on making relations between our states wider and deeper.

[Kucherenko] Here is what U.S. Secretary of Defense Les Aspin said, summing up the results of his visit.

[Aspin] It was a very, very good visit. It was in no small part a good visit because of the defense minister. We came here with two intentions. First, we wanted to let the Ukrainian Government and the Ukrainian people know how grateful the United States is to them for their contribution to peacekeeping forces all over the world. We do not yet have a full understanding of the world that has come about after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, but it does require a lot of soldiers for peacekeeping operations. Here, Ukraine is doing a lot more than is required from other states.

[Kucherenko] In the words of Les Aspin, the second aim of his visit to Ukraine was an intention to establish long-term and wide scope relations between the two states' military departments. Mr. Aspin said that he passed on an invitation for Konstyantyn Morozov to visit Washington in July. During a meeting in Washington, it is planned that a memorandum of understanding will be signed between the Ukrainian Defense Ministry and the U.S. Department of Defense. A meeting between both countries' chief military leaders will be held within the framework of this visit. In addition, a joint working group will be formed, which will meet regularly to work out wide-scale contacts between the two states' military departments. The United States also intends to send specialists to Ukraine, who here in Ukraine will consider issues of the education and training of military cadres. It is also planned that wide-ranging discussions on medical care in the army will be held here in Ukraine in the near future.

Journalists at the news conference were interested in whether a situation was possible where the U.S. Department of Defense could purchase some of the arms manufactured in Ukraine. [passage omitted]

Here is what the U.S. Secretary of Defense said:

[Aspin] One of the issues that we have already discussed and will further discuss is the relationship between arms manufacturing and Ukraine's economy in general. Ukraine will probably import some types of weapons, and other types of weapons could be exported by Ukraine. We have various alternatives, and we do not close any road for the markets of U.S. weapons, as well as supplying the markets with Ukrainian weapons. Now we are looking at various versions and are not excluding anything.

[Kucherenko] At the news conference, journalists asked Konstyantyn Morozov whether recommendations on storing nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory were discussed with the U.S. side. [passage omitted]

[Morozov] We discussed in general the existence of this problem and Ukraine's state position on this issue, known to you, was talked about. We touched upon the issues that represent a general approach to such (?delicate) decisions that would promote security on the territory of Ukraine in respect of issues of storing warheads and nuclear weapons in general. My attitude toward these proposals is favorable.

[Kucherenko] The political crisis in Russia compells us to pay greater attention to the situation in Russia, Strobe Talbott, U.S. ambassador at large and special adviser to the secretary of state on newly independent states, said recently. At the same time, the United States is pressurizing Ukraine to withdraw all strategic nuclear weapons from its territory and ratify the START I Treaty.

I asked Mr. Aspin to answer the following question: How safe is it today for all of the former Soviet Union's nuclear weapons to be concentrated in Russia's hands, which is a state whose actions are unpredictable? [passage omitted]

[Aspin] I would like to give an answer to your question without touching upon the issue of safety. We talked with Konstyantyn Morozov about how this disarmament would take place and where these weapons would be stored. No decision was made and no proposal on that was made by the U.S. side to the Ukrainian Government. We had a preliminary discussion on that issue, and we intend to work out a detailed position on it. We will cooperate, however, in this matter with Ukraine's Defense Ministry.

Minister Calls Pressure To Sign Treaty 'Grave Mistake'

AU0706144193 Paris AFP in English 1406 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Copenhagen, June 7 (AFP)—Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoly Zlenko said here Monday [7 June] that his country will not be pressured into signing the START I nuclear treaty, apparently referring to U.S. attempts to break the deadlock on the issue.

Zlenko, speaking after a meeting with his Danish counterpart Niels Helveg Petersen, who currently holds the European Community's rotating presidency, stressed that it would be "a grave mistake to exert such pressure."

U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin opened talks with Ukrainian leaders Monday in Kiev in a bid to persuade them to sign the treaty.

Zlenko said that it was up to Ukraine's parliament to decide whether to adopt the treaty pointing out that it took American lawmakers nearly a year to ratify the same accord.

He said a decision on the issue could be made by July before the parliament retires for summer vacation.

"This ratification problem must be resolved, keeping in mind the country's interest," he said, adding that certain questions must be dealt with before the treaty can be adopted.

They include western security guarantees against attack from other nuclear states and compensation for the cost of dismantling the strategic nuclear weapons on Ukraine's territory.

Ukraine wants 2.8 billion dollars. The United States has offered 175 million dollars.

Aspin began talks on the issue Monday with his Ukrainian counterpart Konstyantyn Morozov. Later, Aspin was to meet with President Leonid Kravchuk, and then with Zlenko and parliamentary speaker, Ivan Plyuch.

On arrival Sunday, he said the disarmament issue would be high on the agenda of his talks.

Ukraine is the only one of the four nuclear-armed former Soviet republics not to have ratified START I.

Ukrainian approval of the START I accord is necessary for implementation of the more ambitious START II agreement signed in January.

National Affairs

Officials Discuss Denial of Powers for Kravchuk

WS0406124893 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Text] Rukh Chairman Vyacheslav Chornovil: "This is a terrible government crisis. I think that Kuchma will hardly change his stance, and the government will probably resign. Under the circumstances, when a threat of economic, political, and social catastrophes is becoming real, the Rukh wants to express its opposition toward all the administration structures in Ukraine."

Stepan Khmara, Ukrainian Conservative Republican Party chairman: "I am against granting powers to the president. Being the head of the executive bodies, he has shown his complete inability, both as commander in chief and in the sphere of foreign policy. The activity of presidential representatives has also been absolutely unsatisfactory."

Volodymyr Filenko, chairman of the Party of Democratic Revival of Ukraine: "Lack of coordination between the presidential and the government teams has been damaging. The processes of adopting a new constitution and early parliamentary elections remain pressing issues. With regard to Kuchma's resignation, I think that the situation is 50-50. On one hand, Kuchma said that he would resign if his powers are not extended. On the other hand, there is a Supreme Soviet resolution which gives the government certain powers regarding the national property fund. Kuchma has to analyze them."

Cochairman of Ukraine's Nationwide Movement Larysa Skoryk: "Some 268 People's Deputies have expressed their confidence in the president, and 205 Deputies have expressed confidence in the government. In my opinion, conclusions must be drawn from these facts. The president is a much more responsible figure than the government. I think that the Supreme Soviet has given back to the president what it took away from him on 18 November. The president is the winner, anyway."

Social Democratic Party Chairman Yuriy Zbitnyev: "In fact, the decision has not been made. In this case, the president has won a tactical victory. If he had been granted powers, he would have been devoid of the 'buffer' Cabinet of Ministers, and in six or eight months the issue would have arisen: either the president or the parliament."

Chairman of the Ukrainian People's Party Leopold Tamburyanskyy: "If the presidential team headed by the president himself is not replaced, and the course is not changed, the ship named 'Ukraine' will keep sinking with its inlet valves open."

Serhiy Dorohuntsov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Ecology: "I think that the right decisions have been made. I am sorry that the article preserving the president's right to head the Cabinet of Ministers has been turned down. I believe that in Ukraine, unlike in Russia, there is no crisis of power. The president is taking care of his presidential duties, the prime minister is taking care of his duties, under the president's supervision, while the Supreme Soviet is drafting laws."

Dmytro Pavlychko, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Foreign Affairs: "Today, the communist majority at the Supreme Soviet did President Kravchuk the biggest-ever favor. It saved him, in fact. If he had been given powers, he would have been torn to pieces by the deputies every month. However, they were blinded by their hatred toward the president, and did not realize that they were helping him. Whoever comes to lead the executive power today will be unable to move this stone. Everybody wants to be a minister or a deputy. Nobody wants to go out to pasture."

General Prosecutor Viktor Shyshkin: "I find it difficult to assess the situation. I would have granted the president powers. The president applied for powers, and he was refused. However, this is not a crisis. Everything is correct from the legal point of view."

UNIAN commentary: According to the recent report from the Cabinet of Ministers, the government, led by Leonid Kuchma is continuing its work, although the prime minister has not called off his motion to resign.

Decree on Protecting State Secrets in Press Issued

AU0706200393 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 3 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Not Subject To Divulging or Understanding"]

[Text] Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers has adopted a decree on certain questions of protecting state secrets in the press and other mass media. An Interdepartmental Coordination Council for Questions of Information Security is being created with a vice prime minister as its head. Leaders of the mass media, ministries, departments, organizations, and enterprises that deal with publishing are obliged to strictly adhere to the current legislation regarding the protection of information prohibited for publication. However, we do not have such detailed legislation on secrets.

Procedure for Controlled Entry to Sevastopol Set

AU0806085593 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 4 Jun 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Entry to Sevastopol Under Control"]

[Text] The Cabinet of Ministers has determined the procedure for controlled entry to Sevastopol.

It is stipulated that, starting from 1 July 1993, Ukrainian citizens may enter Sevastopol with documents that certify their identity and with passes issued by organs of internal affairs at places of their permanent residence. Residents of populated areas near the city constitute an exception. They may enter the city and visit enterprises, institutions, organizations, educational, medical, and other establishments situated within the city with documents that certify their identity and residence in the given locality. A list of such localities is compiled by the Sevastopol City State Administration. Foreign citizens need to produce their national passports or equivalent documents containing visas for staying in Ukraine and passes that are issued by Ukraine's diplomatic and consular institutions abroad, unless specified otherwise by Ukraine's international agreements; or else authorization may be given by internal affairs administrations of the Crimean Republic, oblasts, Kiev, and Sevastopol.

Ukrainian and foreign nonmilitary vessels may enter Ukraine's border check point at the Sevastopol fishing seaport of the "Pivdentranszbut" [South Transportation Marketing] Administration in accordance with international rules and Ukraine's current legislation. Foreign nonmilitary vessels may enter the waters of the state enterprise "The S. Ordzhonikidze Sevastopol Sea Plant" through Ukraine's state border in the Sevastopol fishing seaport of the "Pivdentranszbut" Administration, provided that corresponding conditions are created on the territory of the enterprise, conditions that are determined by its management in coordination with the Sevastopol City State Administration and the State Committee for Questions of Protection of Ukraine's State Border.

The procedure for issuing passes to citizens enabling them to enter the city, to members of crews of Ukrainian and foreign nonmilitary vessels allowing them to go outside Ukraine's border check point in the Sevastopol fishing seaport of the "Pivdentranszbut" Administration, as well as to members of crews of those vessels that are staying at the state enterprise "S. Ordzhonikidze Sevastopol Sea Plant," is determined by the Sevastopol City State Administration in coordination with the Council of Ministers of the Crimean Republic, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the State Committee for Questions of the Defense of Ukraine's State Border, and the Security Service.

Parties, Unions Not To Exacerbate Situation

AU0706190893 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 3 Jun 93 p 1

[L. Aleksyeyeva report]

[Text] The Civic Accord Council subordinated to the presidential representative in Luhansk Oblast analyzed the economic and sociopolitical situation in the oblast. Representatives of Rukh [Ukraine's People's Movement for Perestroyka], PDVU [Ukraine's Party of Democratic Revival], the Socialist Party, Free Trade Unions, Journalists' Union, and others participated in the discussion. It was decided not to exacerbate the situation and to refrain from sociopolitical actions that might disturb it, reported correspondent L. Aleksyeyeva.

Belarus

Israeli Police Chief Visits Minsk

LD0706213993 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1715 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] General Ya'aqov Lapidot, director general of the Police Ministry of the State of Israel, described his visit to Belarus as very fruitful. Despite the fact that the main part of the visit was during the weekend, the Israeli general managed during his stay on Belarusian soil, which lasted for less than three days, to meet Defense Minister Pavel Kazlowskiy of the Republic of Belarus, Interior Minister Vladimir Yegorov, and Mecheslaw Gryb, chairman of the Parliamentary Commission for Issues of National Security, Defense and Fighting Crime. He also held talks with heads of a number of directorates of the Interior Ministry of the Republic.

The Israeli guest visited the Interior Ministry Academy, one of the subdivisions of the interior troops, and the sanatorium of the Interior Ministry. He was also present at the opening ceremony of the competition of Belarusian songs and poetry in Molodechno.

The visit has resulted in the signing of a protocol on cooperation between the Interior Ministry of the Republic of Belarus and the Police Ministry of the State of Israel that envisages exchange of specialists for practical courses.

Shushkevich Makes Statement on Security Pact

PM0706142993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Jun 93 p 2

[Valeriy Kovalev report: "Stanislav Shushkevich Prepared To Sign Collective Security Treaty, But Includes Substantial Provisos"]

[Text] In an article in the Republic's NARODNAYA GAZETA titled "Why Were No Clauses Adopted?" Mechislav Grib, chairman of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet Commission for Questions of National Security, Defense, and Crime Fighting, has accused the Belarusian parliamentary leadership of not submitting to the decision adopted by the extraordinary session of parliament and deliberately hanging fire over signing the CIS Collective Security Treaty. In the writer's opinion, this is confirmed by the delay in the Belarusian Supreme Soviet Presidium's adoption of provisos to the treaty. These have already been examined on two occasions, but were rejected on both occasions without any serious comment. "I got the impression," M. Grib writes, "that no one wants any provisos, that there is a firm intention not to carry out the Supreme Soviet's decision...."

The article did not go unnoticed by the speaker of the Belarusian parliament. He addressed the session on the same day. Had the article's author, Stanislav Shushkevich said, asked the relevant structures or me, he would have found out that in fact there is no problem. He then said that he sent a letter to the heads of state party to the Collective Security Treaty 28 May. In it, he informed them that "by decision of the Supreme Soviet of 8 April he has been empowered to sign the treaty on behalf of the Republic of Belarus, but with a number of provisos. For instance, use of the Republic's armed forces outside its territory is ruled out. Nor will Belarusian Army servicemen be sent to serve in the CIS Joint Armed Forces. In the event of aggression against any of the treaty member states, Belarus will only provide material-technical and material-consultative aid. Other countries' troops must not be stationed in the Republic of Belarus without the corresponding decision on the part of the parliament."

Since these provisos have not so far received the backing of the requisite Supreme Soviet Presidium majority, Shushkevich, as he told deputies, stated the following at the end of the letter: "The Republic of Belarus reserves the right to make other provisos in respect of individual articles of the treaty or clarify the above when the Supreme Soviet ratifies this document. Guided by constitutional law—the Declaration of State Sovereignty, which envisages Belarus' attaining neutral status—the Republic intends to terminate its participation in the system of CIS collective security as soon as the Russian Federation troop contingent and strategic arms are fully withdrawn from Belarusian territory."

So the head of the Belarusian parliament has officially stated his readiness on the Republic's behalf to sign the Collective Security Treaty. This will evidently happen at the next meeting of the heads of the CIS states in Yerevan. The only question is: Will the parties to the treaty agree with the extremely important provisos that Belarus intends to make with regard to it? Especially since others may be added to it when the document is ratified.

Shushkevich Blamed for 'Political Storms'

PM0806103593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jun 93 pp 1, 2

[Article by Oleg Stepanenko: "The Belovezhskaya Syndrome: Stanislav Shushkevich's Demarche"]

[Text] Minsk—It would appear that Belarus is entering upon a spell of political storms. There is a crisis of power. The Supreme Soviet, which is assembling in Minsk, is to decide the issue of a referendum.

Signs of this appeared on the horizon back in April. It was then that, in an extraordinary session, Stanislav Shushkevich came out against accession to the Treaty on Collective Security Within the CIS and was defeated. Two-thirds of the Presidium failed to support him. In the Republic Security Council, he was left one against 11. In the ballot in parliament, a final picture emerged of 188 to 34 against Shushkevich.

Having lost, he gambled on a referendum. Since an extraordinary session is not authorized to decide

whether to hold a plebiscites, it was resolved to submit it to the ag enda of the next regular session. And now passions have raged unabated for almost two months. The campaign for the referendum launched by the "democrats" is increasingly splitting society. The bloc of right-wing, bourgeois movements and parties has declared its support for Shushkevich's positions. The leftists oppose it.

It is perhaps Stanislav Stanislavovich himself who has displayed the most activity in this political skirmish. In interviews and statements on television and in the press, he has launched a concerted attack on his opponents.

What is Shushkevich's approach to his fellow citizens?

Above all, he tries to scare them with the revival of the USSR. Sometimes directly, with the bugbear of the "totalitarian structure." Sometimes by degrees, regretting that the working people can be (and from time to time, he remarks disapprovingly, are!) led astray by "incantations along the lines of 'send back this Union-made sausage.'"

What are Shushkevich's arguments?

First and foremost, that accession to the Collective Security Treaty contradicts the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Republic of Belarus, which was, in his words, "a cri de coeur, torn simultaneously from the lips of communists, the opposition, and those who had not defined their political allegiance."

Discarding emotionalism, let us return to facts. The official conclusions of the Ministries of Justice and Foreign Affairs, the Institute of State Building, the Juridical Department, and the Supreme Soviet Commission for Legislation maintain that accession to the treaty does not contradict the Declaration on Sovereignty. The latter clearly states that the Republic autonomously exercises the right to form voluntary alliances with other states. There is not even a subject for dispute here: The dozens of states that have concluded treaties on collective security cannot be considered nonsovereign.

Strictly speaking, it would be possible to draw a line under this question here. Why then is Stanislav Stanislavovich, along with his supporters, nevertheless so opposed to the Republic's acceding to the treaty? The answer is simple. It was formulated by Dmitriy Bulakhov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Commission for Legislation: Peeling off the shell, the question is one of choosing the vector of political orientation. Toward the East—to traditional ties—or toward the West.

Those in favor of breaking with the East—the former USSR republics, primarily Russia—are the local "democrats" headed by the Belarusian National Front (BNF), whose leaders, as was noticeable even at the session, are fanning frenzied hatred against Russians. As a counterbalance to Russia and all their Eastern neighbors, they are calling for the creation of a Black Sea-Baltic Commonwealth, and although Shushkevich, in opposing the treaty within the CIS, is putting forward his own version—"no treaties with anyone at all"—it is clear to any experienced politician that to take him seriously is worse than naive. This "zero option" is impossible for the Republic in today's unstable, unpredictable world.

I will begin with the fact that Shushkevich's very attempt to allude to the Declaration on Sovereignty "for the defense of legality" is, to put it mildly, improper. Everyone remembers that the declaration was adopted in July 1990, and that there was no question in it whatever of Belarus seceding from the USSR. On the contrary, it posed the task of renewing the Union. Article 11 states: The Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] proposes to begin without delay the elaboration of a treaty on the USSR.

Incidentally, opposition deputies, headed by BNF members, ostentatiously walked out of the hall during the discussion of this article and did not vote for the declaration—it was adopted without them. In presenting it as the "cri de coeur" of all the deputies, Shushkevich is distorting facts. But this is a detail, albeit not an unimportant one. Another detail is more serious.

The task posed in the declaration is significantly broader and greater in scale than the Treaty on Collective Security. It was Shushkevich, the session noted, who was supposed to implement this task. He not only failed to do so; by signing the Belovezhskaya Forest document on the "abolition of the USSR," he committed a direct violation of the declaration. At the same time, he violated the will of the people, who voted in the March 1991 referendum in favor of the Union. In this way he committed an illegal action.

The principal blame for the Belovezhskaya crime, of course, lies with the principal destroyer of the Union—Yeltsin. But Shushkevich has a special liability. He did not stand against the destruction of the Union, he did not come to the defense of the underlying document on republic sovereignty adopted by the Supreme Soviet and stipulating not the destruction, but the renewal of the Union. And now, having himself crushed underfoot the "cri de coeur"—the declaration—he is trying to use it to combat those who intend to fulfill at least partially the task which it lays down.

"Stop lying, Stanislav Stanislavovich, and stirring up society," Deputy Aleksandr Lukashenko hurled at Shushkevich from the rostrum of the Supreme Soviet.

Deceit begets deceit. The agreement on the CIS contains a commitment to preserve and maintain under joint command a common military-strategic area. And what has happened? This commitment has been broken. Again, with the active participation of Stanislav Stanislavovich. Referring to "consistent steps toward neutrality," he now states with satisfaction: "We believe that we have no CIS troops in our country. They do not exist at all...." And he assesses this destruction of the CIS military-strategic area as..."furthering the Belovezhskaya Forest agreements."

At the same time, he is trying to instill into millions of his fellow citizens the idea that collective security will supposedly bring the Republic no benefits on either the military or the economic plane. Oh yes? On its own, Belarus cannot afford to keep even an emaciated army, specialists say. Even shells are not made here. All military equipment, spare parts, and weapons have to be bought.

Here is just one fact from the conclusion of the expert group: This year, 250 million rubles [R] have been allocated for the acquisition of military equipment and weapons, whereas just one F-17A fighter plane costs $60 million. Go ahead and buy, "independent Belarus," one-240th of a fighter plane, a chassis wheel or half a tail fin, the missile-launching button, or the night-vision instrument—and be very well defended!

The situation is so hopeless that Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy implored at the session: "We in the military cannot—I cannot—watch the Army perish."

Shushkevich is keeping quiet about the fact that preferential terms are being devised for those who join the CIS collective security system: primarily better equipment, cheaper training of military cadres, and so forth—things that the Belarusian Army needs (expert groups conclude that the Republic would save R25-30 billion a year at current prices). Of course, Belarus will not have the bonuses that collective security affords and will find itself disarmed. And many people naturally ask themselves the question: In deluding the people, is Shushkevich not counting on the charity of NATO? NATO has already given Lithuania four aircraft, Deputy Mikhail Machulenko reports. "But if we ask nicely," he added, "and are sufficiently obedient, they will evidently give us a couple of planes too."

Shushkevich's concerted attack, which is disorienting society, can be explained not only by his intention to check the process of all-round integration in the CIS, which, God willing, will lead to the restoration of the unity of the former fraternal peoples. It also has another, no less important, I should say fundamental, cause—the deep-seated crisis in the economy, culture, and morality in all spheres of life. Output is falling catastrophically. Since 1991, the volume of production in the Republic has decreased by 34 percent (and it was only recently that there was an annual increase in excess of 6 percent). Consumption has decreased to the level of 30 years ago. Society is ravaged by crime.

How is all this to be explained? The classic, time-tested ruse of bankrupt politicians is to make use of any pretext to create tension in society and divert it from reflecting on the causes and the culprits who gave rise to the disasters; to direct or, as A. Yakovlev, the ideologue of "gorbostroyka," puts it, to channel people's indignation in another direction. As far as possible away from oneself.

The question of collective security has become just such a pretext; even in a period of calm, given the right knack, this issue can be whipped up to the nth degree. This is precisely what Shushkevich has tried to do. Being untrained in economic and industrial management questions (which should by no means be considered his fault—he went to school in concrete-paved Minsk, was a postgraduate in physics, and went on to hold a chair in physics), he put himself in thrall to the populist, market capitalist concepts of the "democrats." Adjusting them—true, only in words—depending on circumstances, now in this direction, now in that. At one moment, arriving in South Korea, he says, as though it were a great discovery, that there they have finely attuned planning, that there are even "five-year plans," and he puts great emphasis on planning and state regulation. At another, visiting Romania, he starts praising price liberalization to the skies.

In the process of destroying the economy, S. Shushkevich's mentality has been increasingly harmonizing with the mentality of the democratic reformers, who are incapable of understanding economic laws and the trends of world development and who are stubbornly pushing in the opposite direction to that in which the world is moving. At last, as Stanislav Stanislavovich's demarche against the Collective Security Treaty has shown, their mentalities have harmonized completely. Shushkevich's major article against acceding to the Collective Security Treaty, about one newspaper column in length, which was relayed for the Republic's press by the Supreme Soviet's press service through the channels of BELINFORM, is nothing but a periphrasis of what the functionaries of the BNF and other bourgeois national separatist movements have been saying and writing.

Is it so long ago that Shushkevich, replying to deputies' questions in the campaign for the Supreme Soviet chairmanship, gave the assurance: "I repeat, I am a communist by conviction. I am in the Communist Party, and I will fight with all the means available to me for ideals which are communist."

Now, virtually echoing word for word the unbridled anticommunist Poznyak and the leaders of the BNF about "adventurist Russian forces that are seeking to revive the CPSU and the Supreme Soviet" and the "red-brown tendency" in Russia and Belarus, he says: "It is quite obvious to me that in Belarus and Russia, and indeed other CIS countries, the enemies of democracy have stepped up their activity. Under slogans about expressing the working people's will they are shaping an attempt to revive the Soviet Union...."

No, Stanislav Stanislavovich did not acquire any kudos by throwing himself together with the BNF leaders in the search for an enemy and launching a campaign against the majority in parliament and the government. True, that majority, like the Council of Ministers, is to blame for Belarus' current troubles.

But whereas parliament is beginning to free itself from the "August syndrome," Mr. Shushkevich, it is already clear, will never free himself from the Belovezhskaya

syndrome. And this is dangerous. Because the Belovezhskaya syndrome is compounded not only on panic and fear. It is compounded to a still greater extent on adventurism and treachery. And at the same time, on a quality against which Shushkevich warned against so emotively at the session: "Duplicity should not be raised to the rank of state policy."

The situation in Belarus is deteriorating. Shushkevich's offensive is only part of the "democrats'" campaign. It was noted with alarm at the session that the national separatists have launched the machinery to soften up public opinion. They are filling pages and airwaves with cries that, in connection with accession to the Treaty on Collective Security within the CIS, Belarus is threatened with the loss of its independence and social prospects. Trying to stupefy the people, they add a "spice" to these disingenuous arguments: A tough, uncompromising battle for power is under way, they say, above all between Shushkevich and the Soviet-era Council of Ministers Chairman Vyacheslav Kebich, a convinced supporter of the treaty, and they spread rumors and fabrications about personal conflict between these two men.

"I have never personally been engaged in any conflict with the chairman of the Supreme Soviet," Kebich was forced to state. "It is simply that a difference has emerged in our approaches to the problem."

...On that day in April when the Supreme Soviet voted for accession to the treaty, Poznyak, the local press reported, called on his supporters to revolt. "All we need now is for his opponents to be given the right to crush the revolt, and the Republic will turn into a seething cauldron of hatred," Belarusian People's Deputy Leonid Privalov writes. Only severed limbs will be left of the Republic and its sovereignty; people wishing to come by the remaining parts of its body will be found.

Will the Supreme Soviet be able to halt the lawlessness that the "democrats" and Shushkevich have made a norm of life in the Republic of Belarus? And is it possible to secure it by peaceful parliamentary means against those infected with the Belovezhskaya Forest syndrome?

Kazakhstan

Punishment for Rioting Baykonur Servicemen Promised

PM0706153793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 3

[Anatoliy Ladin report: "Baykonur: Unrest in Line With Previous Scenario"]

[Text] Almaty— This time the instigators have been arrested and will be severely punished.

During the night of 3-4 June there were riots, accompanied by arson attacks on barracks and administrative buildings and looting of unit warehouses, in Baykonur space center military-construction units (of the Kazakhstan Army Military Construction Detachment). The rampaging groups of servicemen were successfully neutralized at Tyura-Tam station on the morning of 4 June.

It is impossible not to notice that what happened is very reminiscent of the tragic events of February last year. Again there were barbaric arson attacks and looting.

Answering a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent's question about the reasons for the unrest, Major General Aytkali Isengulov, Kazakhstan Republic deputy defense minister and chief of the Educational and Social-Legal Work Directorate, stressed that the latest unrest and other negative phenomena are occurring because the status of the Baykonur space center has still not been determined to this day. Russian and Kazakhstani servicemen service alongside each other here. They appear to perform the same duties, but their earnings are different. For example, Russian officers get 150 percent more, while soldiers and sergeants get 780 percent more.

Major General Isengulov believes that the repetition of the unrest also happened to some extent because those to blame for the previous arson attacks and thefts (and several servicemen died last February at a barracks which had been set on fire) were not punished. None of the 70-plus criminal files opened at that time resulted in court convictions.

This time, Major General Isengulov said in conclusion, all the culprits will be punished. Many of them have been detained.

Nazarbayev Meets With Kyrgyz President; Treaty Signed

LD0806114893 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0600 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] An official meeting took place at the residence of the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan in Almaty between President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev, who came on a working visit to Kazakhstan. During the talks between the heads of the two fraternal nations, a wide range of issues on political and economic cooperation connected with the national currency recently introduced by the Kyrgyz Republic was discussed. During the meeting, a treaty between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Kyrgyzstan on trade, finance, and banking was signed. At the end of the meeting a press conference was held.

Nazarbayev Queried on Integration in Former USSR

PM0706132593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jun 93 First Edition p 5

[Valeriy Konovalov report on interview with Kazakhstani President Nursultan Nazarbayev; date and place not given: "New Concept and New Initiative"]

[Text] The famous academics Stanislav Shatalin, Nikolay Petrakov, Leonid Abalkin, and Grigoriy Yavlinskiy will fly in to Almaty in a few days' time at the invitation of the Kazakhstani president. The background to this meeting and the prospects for it are very significant. As Nursultan Nazarbayev stated in an interview with IZVESTIYA, it will be a question of the concept for a new stage of interstate relations in the post-Soviet area and the elaboration of a broad integration initiative.

"Shadow of Terrible Monster Close at Hand"

"I have recently reassessed the years since the collapse of the Union, and—above all—taken a different look at the future of mutual relations between our states..."

That phrase, which kicked off our conversation, sounded almost sensational coming from Nazarbayev. It is well known just how stubbornly and consistently he fought throughout those years against the collapse of the former Union's political and economic ties. And when those ties broke down nonetheless, he persistently attempted to create new unifying structures and coordinating organs. Now that there finally seems to be a real prospect of harmony, and agreement has been reached on the possibility of a CIS Economic Union, this proponent of stability and unity states that he is revising his views. What is going on?

"My new conclusion," Nazarbayev said, "is that the period of disintegration, when centrifugal forces dominated, although inexpedient, did have its own logic and was largely inevitable. It is now becoming clear that the main thing during these years was the desire to safeguard oneself against a return to the empire, and this outweighed all the rational arguments in favor of integration. Any coordinating organ was associated with the former central department which dictated and distributed everything. The shadow of a terrible monster was still close at hand and, it seemed, ready to rematerialize."

Does all this mean that Nazarbayev has recognized that his former initiatives were utopian or, at any rate, untimely? By no means.

"The logic of what has happened does not rule out the logic of what is possible," he said. "I remain convinced that there was a real alternative to the choice that was made not only because of objective circumstances. Above all, the aim that I set myself from the very outset was right, and we will inevitably return to it... Only it will now be by a different, longer, and costlier route.

"I have never made any secret of the fact that, even during the Novo-Ogarevo talks and particularly after the putsch, I would have liked to have seen the historically obsolete Union replaced by a new interstate association based on democratic, equal principles. When the entire world is moving toward integration it is silly to move in the opposite direction and lose a common economic, defense, cultural, and information area in a slide toward sovereign neo-isolationism. As an economist and a statesman, I was able to foresee—perhaps better than many others—the negative consequences of this process. And it struck me that the CIS could become a political formation, a new type of community, if the Union infrastructure were rapidly and fundamentally modified in the way that the Maastricht agreements unify the EC. But I very soon realized that I would be in a minority with this conviction. I admit that I found this terribly depressing. Nonetheless, I considered it necessary to make use of all the opportunities that still remained."

"Does it follow from this that such opportunities have now been exhausted?" I asked the president.

"The situation has now changed fundamentally," he said, "and new approaches are correspondingly required. New opportunities have also emerged. It would be too primitive to believe, as is sometimes stated, that once the former Union republics had burned their fingers on the idea of sovereignty, they would be prepared to return to the 'family fold.' Of course, people were also euphoric about their own opportunities, and political leaders were ambitious. But the essence of the new quality, in my view, is that the republics have finally felt themselves to be really independent states. New things such as independent currencies, borders, customs services, and armies may not have improved the peoples' lives in themselves—and have often complicated them—but they have rid the peoples (and, perhaps most of all, their leaders) of many fears and complexes. It is all the more alarming that clashes of political ambition continue contrary to the peoples' interests."

"Apart From Sovereignty There Is Still Life"

Despite being known for his tact, his ability to smooth things over and find common ground with the most varied politicians, and having sometimes acted as peacemaker, Nazarbayev was emphatically scathing in his assessments during our conversation, showing no fear of offending anyone or of complicating mutual relations. It seems that this too is a certain new aspect of his current position.

"I have no time for tact now," the president said. "There is too much at stake... I draw a clear distinction in relations between countries and peoples, and mutual relations between heads of state. These are by no means always the same thing. We are in regular contact and are well aware of each other's worth. In particular, it is obvious to me that Ukraine's position—or, rather, that of its state leaders—has been and continues to be an obstacle to the sensible and painless process of integration on a new footing, and is constantly forcing us to slow the pace of progress. It had seemed to many people that Ukraine's withdrawal from the Commonwealth would do us irreparable damage. Of course, it is a serious factor. I also wish to note my particular respect for Ukraine and Ukrainians, among whom I gained my grounding in metallurgy in my youth. I strive to build friendly relations with the present-day leaders of this great people, too. But I believed and I continue to believe that indulging 'Ukrainian reservations' was a mistake. The loss of a strong partner would have been entirely offset by the formation of an effective structure which would soon have produced a real effect for our countries' peoples. Unfortunately, even now the situation is changing little. At the last meeting of CIS heads of state Leonid Kravchuk opposed the name 'economic union,' claiming that the word 'union' had been compromised. Is a dispute about terms appropriate nowadays? Is the name really more important that what it describes? What is this other than an excuse for demonstrating your 'reservations' and delaying the process of agreement yet again?"

Nazarbayev was also confused about Belarusian leader Stanislav Shushkevich's position with regard to the idea of collective security. The Kazakhstani president noted that the Belarusian parliament advocated that the republic take part in this system, so why was the head of state insisting on a different position?

"I sometimes think," Nazarbayev said, "that it would be easier to reach agreement if, after setting up a kind of corporate club for heads of state, we made it our main task to keep our jobs and built our policies on that basis. But for me personally this is unacceptable. The contradiction is that each leader pays lip service to his people's prosperity; but are spiritual and intellectual isolation, a production slump, the breakdown of economic and cultural ties, and out-and-out failure to pay for dispatched products in the interests of the peoples? This spring the leaders of the former Union republics publicly admitted one after another that the independent states' economies were on the brink of disaster, but they were in no hurry to make a decision about CIS coordinating structures."

In Nazarbayev's opinion, even today certain politicians are quite wrongly and sometimes speculatively placing the idea of sovereignty in opposition to integration processes.

"Look," he said, "it's very hard for me as a pragmatist to come to terms with the fact that this romantic and absurdly fetishized idea that is sometimes too costly for the peoples has predominated in recent years. It has

always struck me that alongside this idea there is also life as well. Delegating some of the necessary powers to interstate coordinating organs for the sake of all and sundry is far more attractive to me. Although I would make so bold as to assure you that sovereignty is no less dear to Kazakhstan than it is to any other country."

"We Have Simply Not Known Any Other Integration"

But, nonetheless, where does Nazarbayev get his confidence that the new integration opportunities that he recognizes can now be implemented if there are still differences about the approaches to these problems? Is he not contradicting himself by claiming, on the one hand, that the republics have rid themselves of the fear of a revival of the empire, while at the same time rebuking his colleagues who continue to stick to the abcslutized ideas of "floating free"?

Nazarbayev himself sees no contradiction in this. The new quality of the present stage is that, in his opinion, integration processes can be freed of their strictly political dependence and can develop from below—with economic, information, and cultural cooperation.

"These processes have already started," Nazarbayev said. "They may, of course, be delayed—either because of political ambitions, or because people have not recognized or taken on board the new quality of the current situation. In both instances politicians and statesmen risk lagging behind life and their peoples' natural progress. After all, what is happening at the moment? While heads of state are discussing terms, farmers, industrialists, oil workers, and ministers of internal affairs and social welfare are meeting regularly, exchanging information and experience, and consulting with each other. There is an obvious readiness and desire for integration. But of what quality? We are all products of the USSR and the CEMA—we simply have no other experience. It is now obvious to me that it is impossible to build partnership relations using our old experience, we need fundamentally new mechanisms. And this is the main conclusion I have reached in my thoughts about the prospects for the post-Soviet area..."

I drew the president's attention to the fact that he had used another term—"post-Soviet area"—several times instead of the term "CIS." Does this mean that he hopes to expand the Commonwealth framework?

"You can see for yourself what is happening," Nazarbayev relied. "Horizontal, sectorial ties—which were largely initiated by Kazakhstan—have already gone beyond the CIS framework. Participation in them is not determined by Commonwealth membership but dictated above all by each participant's own interests. This, in my view, is the start of something new—integration of a kind known to neither the former Union nor the former CEMA.

"We are objectively linked by the level of our economies, the impossibility of being competitive on the world market, and the prevailing structure of intereconomic ties. And my new conceptual approach to the prospects of integration in the post-Soviet area is that we will have to organize cooperation from below, starting with the economy and individual spheres of life, without necessarily linking it to politics. Here, too, there are real opportunities for integrating not only the CIS countries, but all the former Union republics and even the East European countries."

I reminded the president that the entire CIS road has been paved with good intentions, but that numerous agreements had failed to work and had essentially remained as protocols of intent. And if some effective organ were successfully created, would it not be along the lines of the former Union Gosplan [State Planning Committee]? Incidentally, such fears have already been voiced following the recent Karaganda meeting of industry ministers from a number of republics.

"I gave the reason for that earlier," Nazarbayev said, "the lack of a mechanism. But just what kind of shape should this mechanism take to allow us to retain our independence while simultaneously cooperating and deepening partnership with our neighbors? When we sign agreements it is as if we are outlining our intentions each time, but also as if we have no idea of how to reach our goal, and are taking as our foundation the old principles of a united center controlling all resources for common purposes, directive subordination... Don't get me wrong, I haven't stopped seeing the sense of what we created within the CIS framework or even within the framework of horizontal ties. I only want to state that all our accords should simply be filled with real meaning and content. After all, we have essentially not known any other kind of integration—we have only been able to administer, control, and distribute.

"But there is another type of integration in the world—the EC model. Europe started by coordinating various aspects of the independent members' lives. Coordinating the sectorial policies of the sovereign states is the point of this kind of relationship. Figuratively speaking, we need to learn how to march not in a single column along a set route, but to work out the general rules of the road. In the civilized world there are models such as the Coal and Steel Community, OPEC, and others. In striving to create something similar, we need to clearly realize just what it is that ensures the vitality of these structures and how they can be accommodated to our specific situation.

"In order to actually begin this work I have invited academics for whom I have a great deal of respect—Shatalin, Petrakov, Abalkin, and Yavlinskiy—to come

to Almaty. I propose setting up a group to study the system of relations within the EC, OPEC, and so forth, and to elaborate recommendations and models so as to introduce this experience into our integration processes more rapidly. I intend to discuss the results of our meeting with the CIS heads and at a broader interstate level. This could result in a large-scale program and, in the future, possibly in a model for a new community. I am confident that eventually we will have a closer association than, as I see it, our young sovereign states are currently prepared for."

If the Nazarbayev initiative is supported, the process could develop relatively dynamically, in his opinion. Then the formation of some kind of sectorial organs—perhaps councils of ministers along EC lines—will be a natural requirement for the new economy in the post-Soviet area, rather than a scheme dreamed up from above. This would be the start of a unifying process which would take several years. When we learn to live autonomously but in cooperation, then everyone will painlessly delegate some of their prerogatives, on the basis of their own interests, to a firmer association along EC lines. This, the Kazakhstani president calculates, will happen in six to seven years' time.

Nazarbayev Sets Up National Consultative Council

LD0806101793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0927 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Amangeldy Akhmetalimov]

[Text] Almaty June 8 TASS—Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev today formed a National Policy Council, which will be a standing consultative body under the head of state.

The council will analyse socio-political processes in the Kazakh society, the geopolitical situation in the region and the rest of the world, and will forecast their further development. It will also map out ways and means for ideologically backing the constitution and the president's domestic and external policies, will work out conceptual foundations for official support to the revival of the nation, for the development of culture, humanitarian sciences and education in general, for the promotion of the population's legal education.

The national council includes prominent Kazakh writers and artists, scientists, representatives of the technical elite, members of public movements and parties.

Armenia

6 Wounded During Azerbaijan Shelling of Taush Region

LD0506144993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1415 GMT 5 Jun 93

[By ARMENPRESS-TASS]

[Text] Yerevan June 5 TASS—Six civilians, including children, were wounded and three of them badly during a three-hour Azeri shelling on Friday [4 June] afternoon of villages in Taush region of Armenia, according to officer on duty at the executive committee of the region.

He said tanks, "Grad" rocket launchers were used by Azerbaijani forces.

Borders, Karabakh Area Report 'Relative Calm'

NC0706140393 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1200 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] The Armenian Defense Ministry press service has reported that relative calm still prevails along the entire Armenian-Azerbaijani border as of 1400 today.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] self-defense forces headquarters reported that Azerbaijani Army units shelled the Armenian positions along the battle-front in Mardakertskiy Rayon from their military bases in Agdamskiy Rayon. Two people were injured on the Armenian side. The NKR self-defense forces adhered to the cease-fire conditions and did not retaliate.

According to the latest reports, relative calm has prevailed in the other NKR regions since last night.

Greek Deputy Foreign Minister Ends Yerevan Visit

NC0406183793 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1700 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Nikolaos Meletis]

[Text] Deputy Foreign Minister Viryinia Tsoudherou concluded her visit to Armenia's capital, Yerevan. It is the first official Greek delegation to visit this newly formed republic. The newly established Greek Embassy in Yerevan will begin operating in a few days and the Armenian Embassy in Athens is expected to open in about three months.

Tsoudherou conveyed a message from Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis to Armenian President Levon Akopovich Ter-Petrosyan and gave the Armenian foreign and deputy foreign ministers a friendship and cooperation agreement plan that will be signed soon at a higher level. The deputy foreign minister expressed Greece's support to the just demands of the Armenian people and thanked Armenia for its positive stance toward Skopje and Cyprus. Tsoudherou promised that Greece, which will take over the EC presidency on 1 January 1994, will contribute to the understanding of the Armenian positions in Europe.

Tsoudherou visited Patriarch of the Armenian Orthodox Church Vasken and also met representatives of the 2,500 Greeks living in Armenia. Tsoudherou, who is accompanied by Greek Ambassador to Moscow Konstandinos Limberopoulos, will continue her tour in Transcaucasia and her next stop will be Baku, Azerbaijan.

Azerbaijan

Opposition Controls Gyandzha, Demands Resignations

TV Reviews Situation

LD0706181593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 7 Jun 93

[By correspondent Mamedov from Baku; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] As a result of clashes between progovernment and antigovernment groups, 60 casualties on the one side and 200 on the other have been reported. [not further identified] The numbers are being verified. Here is a more detailed report from our correspondent in Baku.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Mamedov] The group's commander, Colonel Surat Guseynov, has described the action by authorities to disarm his group as criminal. Holding the title of Azerbaijan's National Hero, he was a commander of an Army corps. Recently he was removed from this post. Many of his subordinates remained loyal to their commander.

On 4 June at dawn, military units launched an attack on the barracks where Guseynov's men were stationed with the aim of disarming them. However, Surat Guseynov's unit has not only repelled the attackers, but it has also taken control of Gyandzha. Because the shoot-out took place in one of the town's densely populated districts, there were civilian casualties. According to preliminary information, nearly 60 people were killed and about 200 injured.

The president of Azerbaijan has expressed condolences to the families of the dead.

[Deputy Prime Minister Abbas Aydyn-ogly; caption identifed; name and title as received] Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey should immediately set up a state commission and evaluate these events within the shortest possible time. All local officials involved in this fratricidal action should undergo criminal investigation and be relived of their official posts.

[Mamedov] At a meeting with journalists last night, Surat Guseynov stated that he, as a peoples' deputy of Azerbaijan, demands the immediate convocation of an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet in order to

jointly untangle the tight knot of political, military, and economic failures. As is known, the leadership of the parliament is against this.

It has also been announced that the procurator of the republic, first deputy ministers of national security and internal affairs, and the minister of agriculture and food are being detained. They are accused of backing this operation [to disarm Guseynov].

The situation in the town is relatively calm. However, there are rallies going on in the central square. [end recording]

Resignations of Gambarov, P. Guseynov Sought

LD0706184493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1824 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Baku June 7 TASS—The Azeri opposition demanded the resignation of Parliament Speaker Isa Gambarov and Prime Minister Panakh Guseynov for organising the bloodshed in the western city of Gyandzha, Arif Aliyev, spokesman of the president of Azerbaijan confirmed on Monday.

Opposition Leader Etibar Mamedov, who ran for presidency last year, accused the authorities of organising the code-named "Typhoon" operation aimed at disarming the armed group of Surat Guseynov in Gyandzha.

Aliyev confirmed earlier reports that some 60 people were killed in the clash, most of who are soldiers of the national army and the presidential guard. He added that "Grad" rocket launchers were used to shell the local airport.

The militants of Guseynov, who are officially called as "rebels" now, used to serve in a military unit which was disbanded for non-subordination to the military command. They clashed with government forces sent to disarm them, according to Aliyev.

Now all the government troops have been withdrawn from Gyandzha to avoid further bloodshed. In the meantime, Guseynov established his own power bodies in the city and took three high-ranking officials hostage, he added.

The spokesman said President Abulfaz Elchibey is convening an extraordinary meeting of the government late on Monday which will be broadcast on the national TV.

Report on Agitation in Lenkoran Denied

NC0706201793 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1900 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Ali Esad Aliyev, state of emergency commandant in Lenkoran City, has called to describe a report in the Vesti program as unfounded and completely untrue. He said: There is no state of agitation in Lenkoran related to the incidents in Gyandzha. The city is peaceful. The residents of Lenkoran have categorically condemned the objectives of those who have created fratricide. They have also condemned each and every move aimed at obstructing Azerbaijan's independence. Vesti's fabrication should be regarded as normal. Our enemies do not support Azerbaijan's independence. That is why they try to explain the illusions they create in one way or another. This state of affairs [words indistinct].

Presidential Press Secretary on Incidents

NC0706203193 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Report on news conference by Arif Aliyev, head of the presidential press service, followed by "interview" with Baku Radio correspondent Reykhan Rustamly in Baku on 7 June]

[Text] [Announcer] The incidents that broke out in Gyandzha pain the heart of each of us. We are receiving many telephone calls in this connection [words indistinct] which include the appeals and statements of various parties and social organizations. All of them believe that these incidents were (?staged). But all this could please only our enemies. In such cases we have to come out in favor of unity of the people. The [words indistinct] must be checked.

A news conference is being held today at the presidential apparatus in Baku. Arif Aliyev, head of the press service, is replying to questions of interest to reporters.

Our reporter Reykhan Rustamly [word indistinct] from Arif Aliyev for our program.

[Begin recording] [Rustamly] Mr. Aliyev, can you comment on the incidents in Gyandzha, which have caused anxiety among the people?

[Aliyev] The Defense Ministry adopted a decision on 31 May to disband military unit No. 209 in Gyandzha. The ministry issued written and verbal instructions to the [word indistinct] in that regard several times. However, the officers of that military unit failed to obey orders. (Asadov), commander of the Gyandzha Army Corps, and his officers were arrested and imprisoned when they tried to enter the military unit to inform its officers on the instructions. They were tormented. The members of the Azerbaijani National Army unit escorting them were fired on. The troops were forced to open fire to defend themselves. Consequently, several men were killed or wounded on both sides. [Words indistinct] and the government forces did not wish to use arms when they moved to convey the orders. Considering the tense situation, government officials were also there to prevent an incident. That confirms that [words indistinct].

Later, the rebels attacked the city's strategic [words indistinct]. They fired on the airport and destroyed several installations. Among the hostages are [names indistinct]. To avoid further exacerbating the situation and to prevent an internecine war, the Defense Ministry abandoned its positions in the city, and [word indistinct] and moved to the (?nearby rayons). [passage indistinct]

They also occupied the oil installations and [words indistinct]. Several government officials were taken hostage. They occupied the state buildings and created [words indistinct] and took the state officials there as hostages. [passage indistinct]

[Rustamly] Mr. Aliyev, we have received very distressing information that the people have been provoked against each other in other areas [words indistinct]. Can you comment on the situation?

[Aliyev] We have received information that incidents have taken place in Lenkoran and Mingecheur. However, the situation in Mingecheur is peaceful. No incidents have occurred in that city. An incident occurred in Lenkoran late yesterday afternoon. However, it was obstructed and [words indistinct]. That is all that has happened in the two areas. The situation is peaceful. [passage indistinct].

Naturally, the incidents must be investigated. A state committee is working in Gyandzha right now. The republic's procuracy has launched a criminal investigation into the incidents and [words indistinct]. [end recording]

'Rebels' Leader Profiled

LD0706220493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2000 GMT 7 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] According to Azerbaijani press reports, the number of dead and injured during disturbances in Gyandzha has reached 200. It is also reported that the rebels, as well as the government troops, used tanks and Grad installations. As a result, the city is badly damaged.

The rebels' leader, Colonel Guseynov, is a well-known personality in the republic, and, as some observers claim, is also very popular. The former commander of Azerbaijani units in Nagorno-Karabakh, he was dismissed from his post following the dismissal of Defense Minister Kaziyev. It is also believed that one of the reasons for Guseynov's removal was his own statements about his intention to become president of Azerbaijan as soon as Stepanakert and Shusha were taken. Nevertheless, the official reason for his dismissal was his failures on the Armenian front. Many of his compatriots are convinced that the colonel could not win the war only because he was not given the promised reinforcements.

Now, after the clashes in Gyandzha, Guseynov, as a people's deputy of Azerbaijan, has demanded that an extraordinary session of parliament be convened. During negotiations he also insisted on the resignation of the Cabinet of Ministers. At the same time, he demands that President Elchibey should be provided with reliable security and protected from the influence of certain individuals from the presidential entourage.

One interesting fact: People in the Azerbaijan Ministry of Defense claim that Guseynov has formed his combat-ready corps using the profits from a certain industrial concern, of which he is a head.

Order for Arrest of Elchibey Said Illegal

LD0806032193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Azerbaijan's Procurator General Ikhtiyar Shirinov, being among the hostages in Gyandzha, did not have the right to sign the order for the arrest of Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey, the president's press secretary Arif Aliyev said at a news conference when it was learned of the captivity of Shirinov in Gyandzha. Elchibey has now transferred his duties to the first deputy procurator. According to the press secretary, the hostages held by the rebel military unit which seized Gyandzha include also the deputy internal affairs minister, the agriculture minister, and a number of other Azerbaijan leaders, RIA reports.

Prime Minister Resigns

TA0806053693 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 0500 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Azerbaijani Prime Minister Panakh Guseynov, who has been held responsible by certain political circles in the country for the incidents in Azerbaijan's second largest city Gyandzha, has resigned his post.

Guseynov announced his resignation in a television speech following a meeting with President Abulfaz Elchibey last night. Rejecting the accusations leveled against him in connection with the incidents in Gyandzha, Guseynov declared that he decided to resign to preserve unity and solidarity in the country. Panakh Guseynov explained that military force was sent to Gyandzha because units under former army corps commander Surat Guseynov refused to comply with orders to lay down their arms. Pointing out that he did not issue an order to open fire on government units, Guseynov noted that the rebels were the first to open fire. Guseynov said that the number of casualties in the clashes is not yet clear. Asking the president and the parliament speaker to accept his resignation, Guseynov announced that he will remain in office until a new prime minister is appointed.

Meanwhile, it is reported that the incidents have subsided following the military rebellion started in Gyandzha four days ago and that the situation is calm throughout the country. Presidential Press Secretary Arif Aliyev said that the situation is completely under the control of government forces in Lenkoran, Mingecheur, and (Levyak), where various demonstrations were staged. In a news conference in Baku yesterday, Aliyev assured that the necessary measures have been adopted to prevent further bloodshed in Gyandzha and that government forces have been taken out of the city.

It has also been reported that Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Tofik Gasymov left for Moscow to discuss the Karabakh problem and bilateral relations with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. According to ANATOLIA, the joint plan drafted by Russia, Turkey, and the United States on the solution of the Azerbaijani-Armenian conflict will be discussed during Gasymov's talks. The plan, which was accepted by Azerbaijan, was rejected by the Armenians.

Elchibey Declares 8 Jun Day of Mourning

LD0806091993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0806 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, 8 Jun (TASS)—Throughout the territory of Azerbaijan national flags are flying at half-mast today. A decree by the country's president, Abulfaz Elchibey, has declared today a day of national mourning in connection with the numerous casualties in Gyandzha, a town in the west of the republic.

On 4 June there were armed clashes between Colonel Surat Guseynov, dismissed several months ago from the command of an Azerbaijani army corps, and military subunits loyal to the government.

According to a report from Gyandzha, the situation in the town has completely stabilized and is being controlled by the insurgents, which is what Surat Guseynov's supporters are being called in official circles. Guseynov, as before, has much authority among servicemen and the local population. The majority of the inhabitants of the western region supports his demand, as a people's deputy of Azerbaijan, that an emergency session of the republic's Supreme Soviet be convened to discover the reasons for what happened in Gyandzha and that the organizers of this action—the principle ones being Isa Gambar, the speaker of parliament, and Panakh Guseynov, the prime minister, according to an assertion by Surat Guseynov—be punished.

Yesterday an extended emergency session of the Azerbaijani Government was held with the participation of the president and the speaker of the parliament. Panakh Guseynov, the head of the cabinet of ministers, spoke and announced his intention to resign. Isa Gambar, the head of parliament, whose resignation is also being demanded by the opposition, considered the prime minister's move to be well-timed and thought it allowed, in his words, a government of national accord to be set up. The idea of forming this kind of government had been put forward before. Supporters of the People's Front of Azerbaijan were in favor of it last autumn when they were in opposition. When the People's Front of Azerbaijan came to power, however, the idea was "forgotten."

Rebellion Continues

TA0806103693 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1000 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Former army corps commander Surat Guseynov, who started a rebellion in Gyandzha, Azerbaijan on 4 June, is continuing his action despite Prime Minister Panakh Guseynov's resignation. It is reported that Surat Guseynov wants Supreme Soviet Chairman Isa Kamberov to resign as well.

After withdrawing its forces from Gyandzha, the Azerbaijani Government took another step and halted all troop movements in the country so as not to escalate the tension. Despite these measures, however, it is reported that the situation continues to be tense in Gyandzha, which is controlled by the rebels.

In the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic of Azerbaijan, 41 deputies condemned the incidents in Gyandzha and called on the people to unite around President Abulfaz Elchibey. In a statement, the deputies declared that the rebellion started in Gyandzha is an action against the independence of Azerbaijan.

Meanwhile, a day of national mourning was declared in Azerbaijan today for those killed in Gyandzha. The Azerbaijani Government announced that 60 persons were killed in clashes with the rebellious soldiers.

'Insurgents' Control Gyandzha

LD0806110193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 8 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A day of national mourning of Gyandzha's many casualties has been declared in Azerbaijan today. The situation is stable in the town at present and is under control of the insurgents—that is what the supporters of Colonel Surat Guseynov are called. He enjoys considerable authority among the military and local population. He is also supported by the majority of the population in West Azerbaijan.

A rally is taking place in Baku now. It is organized by the Party of National Independence of Azerbaijan, the main opposition party. Its participants' main demand is that those who worked out and carried out Operation Typhoon aimed at disarming military units under Colonel Guseynov's command, be brought to account.

At a news conference yesterday, leader of the Party of National Independence Mamedov gave a warning that, should the government attempt to dispel the rally using arms, the opposition would put up resistance.

Report Examines Russian Servicemen Sentenced to Death

LD0706203893

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1815 GMT on 7 June during the "Press Club" program carries a 10-minute report entitled "Don't Know Why."

The report says it is trying to show what drives Russian ex-servicemen to be recruited by various warring groups

to fight in interethnic conflicts such as that in Nagorno-Karabakh. The video shows prison cells where Russian soldiers, sentenced to death in Azerbaijan for fighting on the Armenian side in Nagorno-Karabakh, are being kept.

One of the six, Senior Leutenant (Vladimir Semyon), who says he was the commanding officer of the five soldiers sentenced to death, is interviewed in his cell. He tells how he and the other five were lured into fighting on the Armenian side. According to him, he served in Yerevan and was waiting to be discharged from the Russian Army in February. He says his papers took a very long time to come. Meanwhile, he was not receiving his pay—as was the case for soldiers who were in the same situation. They were invited to go to Nagorno-Karabakh by the Armenians to "train their men there" for some pay. No fighting was mentioned. They took a chance and arrived in Nagorno-Karabakh only to discover that they would not be able to leave Nagorno-Karabakh without a special pass issued by Vazgen Sarkisyan, state minister for Nagorno-Karabakh. So they had no choice but to stay and fight on the Armenian side.

Unlike his men, (Semyon) was sentenced only to 15 years' imprisonment. He says he certainly does not intend to serve his sentence in full. He says he would rather die—by suicide if necessary—if his men are executed. He says neither he nor the other five soldiers are hopeful of being released by the Azerbaijanis.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Concludes Visit to PRC

'Satisfaction' Over Results

LD0406153093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0700 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Excerpts] An ITAR-TASS correspondent reports from Beijing that Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, voiced his satisfaction over the practical results of his visit to China. [passage omitted]

The Georgian head of state said that the joint declaration is of special importance for further development of Chinese-Georgian relations. The key principles of interstate relations are stated in the declaration.

According to him, the Chinese side showed a keen interest in the project of the new Euro-Asian corridor he put forward. The corridor will go through the Caucasus, joining such countries as China, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine.

Railroads and highways, as well as gas and oil pipelines, could be built in this corridor, he said. Tourism business could also be arranged. Building such a corridor would assist not only economic cooperation on the continent but it would also have a stabilizing effect on the Caucasus, he stressed.

Answering the questions of the ITAR-TASS correspondent, Eduard Shevardnadze said that the situation in the Caucasus was widely discussed during the talks with the Chinese leadership. Both sides expressed the hope that Russia would play a positive role in resolving the conflict in this region. The chairman of the Georgian parliament welcomed China's aspiration to establish good relations with the former republics of the former Soviet Union. We are studying the experience of the PRC in building the economy and I view some aspects of it as unique for many countries, he said. The agreements signed in Beijing will be a first step forward to broader Chinese-Georgian cooperation. Economic, scientific, and technical contacts must become the most important part of this cooperation.

Talking on the possibilities of China's granting credit to Georgia, Eduard Shevardnadze noted that its size would depend on the scale of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries. Asked if the issue of human rights was discussed with the Chinese leadership during the negotiations, the Georgian leader noted that he respects the choice of the great Chinese people, their choice of the form and the path of carrying out economic changes. It would be difficult to talk about human rights in the whole world if there is no stability in China, he stressed. On the same day, Eduard Shevardnadze left for the port city of Dalian.

Beijing News Conference

PM0706125193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Vladimir Skosyrev: "E. Shevardnadze Satisfied with Results of Trip to China"]

[Text] Beijing—Georgia has almost overtaken Russia in terms of the number of documents signed during its leader's visit to China. If during B. Yeltsin's visit to Beijing last year 24 agreements were signed, the Georgian delegation headed by E. Shevardnadze has signed 20 documents here.

This achievement causes the Georgian parliament chairman deep satisfaction. The prospects for cooperation between the two countries are very good, he said at a news conference before leaving Beijing. But when journalists wondered in which specific sphere this collaboration could be most successful Shevardnadze merely indicated the two countries' interest in opening up the Caucasus corridor linking Europe and Asia.

"Has Georgia acquired a loan from China?" correspondents asked.

"We are poor people but we are proud and we did not go with outstretched hands. When experts reach agreement about what goods Georgia can acquire and deliver in turn to China agreement on a loan could acquire specific shape," came the answer.

A French journalist had a question:

"You arrival coincided with the fourth anniversary of the suppression of demonstrations on Tiananmen Square. As one of the leaders of the democratic movement in the Soviet Union, did you raise the subject of the observance of human rights in China at the talks?" she asked.

"We discussed the subject of human rights in general terms with our Chinese interlocutors. I respect the choice which the Chinese people have made. It is a course of reforms. It is being implemented consistently and firmly, without loss of stability, and is helping the country to move forward. I should also like to stress that it will be very hard to speak of observing human rights in the world if great China is not stable," Shevardnadze replied.

It is to be supposed that this position entirely suited PRC Chairman Jiang Zemin and the other Chinese officials with whom talks were held.

Agreements Signed

LD0406211893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1731 GMT 4 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Spirin]

[Text] Beijing June 4 TASS—Georgian leader Eduard Shevardandze today ended his official visit to China and left for home from the city of Dalian, the administrative centre of the northwestern province of Liaoning after looking into Chinese reforms there.

In Dalian Eduard Shevardnadze visited the economic and technological development zone, the sea port, a market place and a model village on the outskirts of the city.

During Shevardandze's visit to China the two countries signed 20 agreements and a joint Chinese-Georgian declaration, the first document of its kind to codify inter-state relations between China and Georgia.

On Thursday, Eduard Shevardnadze told a news conference in the Chinese capital that he was pleased with the practical results of talks with Chairman Jian Zemin and other Chinese leaders.

Shevardandze made it clear that more bilateral documents would be signed soon, including on the extension to Georgia of a Chinese commodity credit.

Further on Agreements

LD0406220993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1950 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Excerpts] China and Georgia have agreed on joint action when tackling international as well as regional problems. This was said in the joint Sino-Georgian declaration disseminated by the XINHUA news agency. The declaration has determined for the first time the key principles of interstate relations between Beijing and Tbilisi. The sides will cooperate to reinforce peace and stability both worldwide and regionally. They support establishing new, legal, regional, international, political, and economic structures, says the document that was signed by the head of state Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian Parliament, and Jiang Zemin, president of the People's Republic of China.

The declaration includes the principally important regulation for both countries—the intention of the Government of the People's Republic of China to respect the territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia, its independence and sovereignty. Georgia, for its part, recognized the government of the People's Republic of China as the sole and lawful government of all China, and Taiwan—its indivisible part.

It follows from the declaration that economic and trade cooperation will occupy a principle part in the bilateral relations. In order to develop it, Beijing and Tbilisi undertook to carry out relevant measures under which, first of all, China's economic aid to Georgia can be inferred.

The second most important agreement is the decision to start regular political consultations that will be held by the heads of the two countries, their parliaments, and governments on the widest issues, the Caucasus situation among others. [passage omitted]

The head of state, Eduard Shevardnadze, is returning to Tbilisi late tonight.

Adviser Comments

LD0506130293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Excerpts] As we have already reported, a government delegation headed by Eduard Shevardnadze, the chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, returned from China to Tbilisi late last night after official visits to Kazakhstan and China.

This morning our correspondent Yuri Dekanosidze met and interviewed a member of the delegation, an adviser to the head of state on national security, Tedo Japaridze. Here is what he said:

[Begin Japaridze recording] [passage omitted] During a face-to-face meeting between Shevardnadze and Nazarbayev interesting topics were touched upon, for example, about politically and economically pressing issues—about a communication corridor that includes transport, air, railway, sea communications; about a corridor that will connect Asia and Europe.

Kazakhstan, a little while ago, was one of the countries opposing an active inclusion of Georgia in this project, but during this face-to-face meeting, Mr. Nazarbayev personally confirmed his respect for Mr. Shevardnadze and personally promised that he would support any initiative by Shevardnadze. [passage omitted]

The meeting in China was at the highest level. It was the first meeting of the Chinese leadership with a leader of a country which used to be a part of the former Soviet Union. It is also very important. A number of agreements were signed—political and economic ones. They talked about very interesting joint projects. The Chinese friends showed us the results of what I would call an economic miracle that followed economic reforms. We visited a free economic zone. There were talks on concrete issues. These are not general ideas. These are concrete issues. The issues should face a definite goal and, after reaching that goal, we will have concrete results. [passage omitted]

A correspondent of a Russian agency told Mr. Shevardnadze it is clear why Georgia was interested in relations with China, but asked why China should be interested in Georgia. What is the interest? Shevardnadze answered very briefly that China is apparently a country that is not motivated by any goals of expansionism. Mr. Shevardnadze apparently meant a country well known to us. The meeting was very warm and emotional, and I believe this visit started relations of our country in the eastern direction with countries like Kazakhstan and China. [end recording]

Shevardnadze Assails Russian 'Reactionary Circles'

LD0706185093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 7 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze has accused Russia's reactionary circles of pandering to Abkhazian separatists. In an interview with republican television, he said that that should there be another massive shelling of the Abkhazian capital, the Georgian side would consider issues, I quote, not limited to the defense of the town. However, Shevardnadze believes that in spite of the deteriorating situation, the search for peaceful ways of resolving the conflict must continue.

Shevardnadze Welcomes Planned Visit by Russian Delegation

LD0706200993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 7 Jun 93

["Excerpt" of interview with head of state Eduard Shevardnadze by unidentified correspondent on Georgian television on 7 June; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Today, at a meeting with the National Salvation Commission, you said you were expecting Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev to visit Tbilisi in the near future. In your opinion, what might follow Mr. Andrey Kozyrev's visit in connection with resolving the Abkhazian issue, and what should we expect of it? What do you think Russia's stance will be?

[Shevardnadze] I think this visit is going to be an important one. This delegation consists of authoritative people, as far as I know—anyway, according to today's data it does. Together with the [Russian] president, there will be Barannikov, head of the security service; famous General Gromov, the first deputy defense minister; Pastukhov—there are 10 or 11 people in the delegation. If we judge by this, we may assume that the Russian delegation has serious tasks and aims.

First of all, they will probably try to speed up, together with us, resolving the conflict in Abkhazia and putting an end to the war. I think that lately the Russian leadership has stated its stance concerning this conflict, this war, more clearly. Russia is assuming a more realistic stance in connection with this war. Besides, the United Nations has become more active, and according to a promise by members of the mission, a visit of quite a large group of observers is expected in the near future—50 or 60 people. These will mainly be military persons and this visit will be very important. It will facilitate speeding up the process and I think Russia is interested in it.

Second, and more important, in my opinion, the aim of the delegation will be to prepare final agreements that will be signed at the Russian-Georgian summit meeting. Preliminary arrangements are that the Russian president is to come to Georgia and the documents are to be signed in Tbilisi.

Abkhazia Accord To Be Signed During Yeltsin Visit

LD0406205093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0400 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] The mechanism of fulfillment reached by the May agreements in Moscow between Russia's President Boris Yeltsin and Georgia's leader Eduard Shevardnadze, on establishing a cease-fire in Abkhazia, will be finally confirmed in the very near future, Levan Sharashenidze, the deputy defense minister of Georgia, declared yesterday at a news conference held at the Georgian Embassy in Moscow. Sharashenidze said he has had talks on this issue with representatives of Russia's Defense Ministry. He did not say anything on the details of the results of the negotiations, but he noted that this mechanism envisages sending Russian, Georgian, and Abkhaz observers to the cease-fire line.

At the same time, Levan Sharashenidze blamed the Abkhaz side for breaching the cease-fire agreement and called on Russia to carry out urgent measures which would guarantee an immediate and unconditional fulfillment of the agreement of 14 May.

Valerian Advadze, Georgia's ambassador to Russia, took part in the news conference. He said that all documents of the principal agreement between the two countries are almost ready. The agreement will be signed in Tbilisi at the end of June, during Boris Yeltsin's visit. This visit will coincide with that of Russia's Defense Minister

Pavel Grachev to Georgia, during which documents on military issues and the deadline for the Russian Army's withdrawal will be confirmed.

Shevardnadze Views Options for Abkhaz Settlement

LD0706124893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Telephone interview with head of state Eduard Shevardnadze by unidentified correspondent in Sukhumi on 7 June—recorded]

[Text] [Shevardnadze] I would like to say that the avenues of a peaceful settlement have narrowed to a certain limit, although they have not been finally exhausted yet. I believe that what is happening now is not a fault of either the Abkhaz people or all the leaders in Gudauta. There is a group of people who were born to engage in war and confrontation. I must say that such people are also to be found among the Georgians. The onset of peace signals the end of their time. As a new stage in relations between Georgia and Russia has begun, the stage of normalization, this group has felt that it is losing ground. In my opinion, this must be the main reason for the barbaric provocations of the past two days, which led to heavy casualties.

There is another provocative aspect. It is that this provocation, adventure, let's put it this way, came after, was a direct result of a visit by a most authoritative UN delegation. Following their visit to Sukhumi and especially Gudauta and their meetings with Gudauta leaders, they responded to the visit of the peace mission by this raid and provocation. As you know, there have been several peace missions from Russia before. And this is my observation. This looks as if it's sanctioned, almost agreed with both the UN representatives and those delegations and representatives from Russia who have visited Gudauta and met Gudauta leaders.

The third point is this. As far as I know some Gudauta leaders are now in Russia in order to get in touch with certain circles there. By these I mean people like Zhirinovskiy and his ilk. They want to create an impression that Russia is still fighting Georgia. I think there is a combination of intrigues and dirty games which led to this provocation with such serious results.

In my opinion we should now do this. We should do what we were doing in the past and what should become even more distinct now. Defense Minister Gia Karkarashvili and Irakli Batiashvili, head of the Intelligence Service, are with me here today. Orders have been issued and several strong units, I would say, leading units of our armed forces, have arrived in Sukhumi. And something that is required must be done. We must defend Sukhumi and if provocations like these recur, we should speak of something more than defense.

[Correspondent] It has been repeatedly mentioned that there is an alliance between the Gudauta group and reactionary forces in Russia. Do you think that what happened in Sukhumi yesterday was a response from reactionary forces in Russia to the visit by the Georgian delegation to the PRC—a highly successful visit? These forces are unwilling to reconcile to the idea that Georgia could leave the Russian sphere of influence.

[Shevardnadze] I don't think this is linked to the visit to China. It is rather a single-minded action by reactionaries both in Russia and Gudauta against the normalization of relations between Georgia and Russia, in the first place.

Second, the reactionary forces in Russia, as you know, are frustrated by the victory, at least at this stage, of democracy and the democratic movement led by Yeltsin. It was Yeltsin who chose the path of agreements, reconciliation, conflict settlement and improving relations with Georgia. They won't reconcile themselves to this.

Do you remember the demonstration led by Zhirinovskiy when I was in Moscow and their slogans? And Zhirinovkiy is not alone. Unfortunately, he has many sympathizers. They are fighting against Russian democratic forces, the democratic leadership and authorities in Russia. They are also fighting against Georgia. Unfortunately, the most extreme wing of the Gudauta reactionaries are involved in this alliance. Although, I would like to add that I don't claim that everybody in Gudauta is with them. There are many people among the Abkhazians, the leaders included, who are realistic in their assessment of the situation, and they seem to be gradually coming to the understanding that this reactionary wing has led the Abkhazian people to a deadlock.

There is only one way out of this deadlock. It is to have bilateral talks as soon as possible to start a usual, normal life. I would not rule out such a scenario. However, we should be open to other options as well.

Today the whole world can see ... [pauses] perhaps there are some who would complain by saying that one agreement was already signed on 3 September, now you there has been another agreement with Yeltsin recently, but fighting continues. We should keep in mind, however, that we should win not only in the battlefield to finish this war with dignity, but also in the struggle for the world public opinion. I should say that judging by our position and that of the world community, the United Nations in particular, we are getting the upper hand in this struggle. We are right. We were right in the beginning, and we are right now.

Hints at Using Force

LD0706173793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Report by K. Bzhaniya and O. Akhmet-Ogly; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Abkhaz Parliament's press service today denied reports that Dniester region fighters have been redeployed in Abkhazia. The statement says that Gudauta airfield is under the control of the Russian Defense Ministry and that it cannot be used for the Abkhazian armed forces needs.

A Russian helicopter with humanitarian cargo on board again came under fire yesterday evening in Galskiy [Gali] rayon in Abkhazia, controlled by Georgian units. The official leadership in Abkhazia accused the Georgian side of a deliberate action to frustrate a humanitarian operation under the auspices of the United Nations, in order to prepare offensive operations against Gudauta. Eduard Shevardnadze, who has arrived in Sukhumi, did not conceal this from the public.

Specifically, Eduard Shevardnadze said that the armed forces of the republic had sufficient resources at their disposal to wage not just defensive operations alone. In this way, opines ITAR-TASS, he let it be understood that the Georgian Army can at any time go over to a general attack and resolve the Abkhaz problem by force. Previously, the head of state never spoke in favor of resolving the Abkhaz conflict by military means, reports ITAR-TASS.

Helicopters Evacuating Residents From Tkvarcheli

PM0706133593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jun 93 p 3

[Geynan Bochkarev report: "Nowhere Are Helicopters Seen Off Like in Tkvarcheli..."]

[Text] The children were given bread. A whole crate. And the little kids, forgetting everything in the world, threw themselves on the crate like pigeons which have been thrown a handful of crumbs. The first four Russian helicopters bearing humanitarian aid landed on the football stadium in Tkvarcheli 2 June. The helicopters were expected here. The stadium was cordoned off by Abkhazian home guards, and only those who were allowed to be evacuated from the blockade on the first flight were let into the "air" field. The lucky ones ran toward the helicopters, stumbling over the bundles containing their wordly goods, shouting and crying. People seemed to think that the helicopter crew would not wait for them. All the others were standing outside the stadium fence. They were looking at the evacuation in the same way as people in a hospital ward look at a person who is being discharged today...

We were told at the city administration that the population of Tkvarcheli has fallen recently. There are approximately 27,000 people left. People have left via mountain paths and have been evacuated in helicopters which at their own risk sometimes flew to Tkvarcheli from Karachayevo-Cherkessia.

Nothing has been sold at the Tkvarcheli central market for a long time. The market has been turned into an exchange center, where things are exchanged for food products of some kind. Old people who have nothing left to exchange come to the bazaar after it has closed. They collect kernels of corn, and when there was still flour available here, they used to lick the flour counter. After nine months of blockade, they were no longer embarrassed.

"We will supply around 200 tonnes of food and medicines within the framework of the humanitarian action," Sergey Kudinov, leader of the Russian State Committee for Civil Defense, Emergency Situations, and Elimination of Natural Disasters operational group, said. "We will take refugees away: women, old people, the sick, children. Once out of Tkvarcheli, people will go to Sukhumi, Gudauta, and Adler...

However, the 200 tonnes of food given to the Tkvarcheli inhabitants will not last long. At best it will last a couple of weeks.

But Tkvarcheli is not just threatened by hunger. Millions of cubic meters of methane have built up in the coal mines of this blockaded city. And although Georgian specialists have come to the conclusion that apparently "a devastating methane explosion is ruled out," Zauri Gogua, director of the Tkvarcheli mine administration, claims that "you cannot say anything for sure."

Incidentally, it cannot be ruled out that a methane explosion could be provoked in the mines. A group of saboteurs who were trying to infiltrate a mine working were recently arrested in Tkvarcheli...

We flew away. Four helicopters were transporting exhausted people out of the blockaded city. They were not smiling. There were not even talking. A boy was lying on a stretcher in the helicopter. From time to time he opened his eyes, trying to find out what was happening and where he was being taken. And whether they would succeed in getting him there.

It seemed that all the remaining population of Tkvarcheli poured out onto the streets. People raised their heads and silently observed our departing helicopter...

Aid Flights Suspended

LD0406211093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] A meeting of representatives of the State Committee for Emergency Situations in Russia, the leadership of the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia, and the military leadership of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Georgia stationed in Abkhazia has taken place in Sukhumi. At the meeting the parties concluded that it is necessary to suspend helicopter flights with humanitarian aid to Tkvarcheli at the present time. This is because there are insufficient guarantees of safety for the flights on the part of the Gudauta groupings and because the Gudauta groupings are not observing the cease-fire.

Russian Task Force Discusses Aid to Sukhumi

LD0406164393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1451 GMT 4 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi June 4 TASS—A task force of the Russian State Committee for Emergencies (RSCE) led by Sergey Kudinov is holding talks on Friday with the leadership of the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet on resumption of humanitarian aid supplies to Gudauta and Sukhumi population.

According to the press service of the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet, the Abkhazian party has guaranteed that Russian helicopters with humanitarian aid would fly safely over territories under its control.

The leadership of the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet also assured the RSCE task force that the Abkhazian servicemen would not be the first to open fire in the zone of confrontation between the Abkhazian and Georgian troops.

Currently the RSCE task force members are negotiating in Sukhumi.

According to the Abkhazian Defence Ministry's press service, at 7:00 a.m. on Friday Georgian troops brought several villages under massive fire.

Before that, hostilities resumed in the zone of conflict. On Thursday night Georgian units shelled Abkhazian formations with mortar fire. Abkhazians retaliated.

On the eastern front the warring sides carried on position fighting. Georgian artillery bombarded the vilages of Kutol and Jgerda. Two civilians were wounded.

Abkhazia Suspends Humanitarian Aid to Tkvarcheli, Sukhumi

LD0606142593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1400 GMT 6 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi June 6 TASS—On the night from Saturday [5 June] to Sunday, the Georgian side fired from mortars and grenade launchers on positions of Abkhazian troops on the Gumista front, ITAR-TASS learned from the press service of the Abkhazian Parliament. Abkhazian units returned the fire.

The situation on the eastern front remained tense on Saturday and Sunday, the same sources reports. On Saturday, Georgian troops shelled populated localities of the Ochamchiri District—Atara, Labra, Achaarkyta, Baslakhu, Pokvash—and positions of Abkhazian forces. The villages of Pokvash, Baslakhu, Achaarkyta were heavily shelled in the small hours on Sunday. Abkhazian Armed Forces received the order to return the fire from all systems at their disposal.

The press service of the Abkhazian Parliament circulated on Sunday a statement of the parliament's presidium on suspending a humanitarian action of relief to the population of Tkvarcheli and Sukhumi. The statement says that the Abkhazian leadership strictly observes the terms of the humanitarian action set out in the protocol of the tripartite meeting in Adler on May 27 and its obligations to ensure the safety of helicopter flights.

Members of the presidium of the Abkhazian Parliament expressed concern over the fact that the Georgian sides puts obstacles to the evacuation of Russian-speaking population from Sukhumi and permits the exit to only those who move to permanent residence in Russia. The Abkhazian leadership believes that the Russian-speaking population in Sukhumi is virtually kept hostage by the Georgian side.

Forces Report Abkhaz Attacks on Shroma-Taman Area

LD0506100793 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] This morning the press center of the Georgian armed forces in Abkhazia informed us that last night, at about 2200, Abkhazian armed forces opened fire from the Gumista River in the direction of the Shroma-Taman area, where Georgian armed forces are stationed. The opposing side used battle vehicles.

The village of (Tsugroka) was shelled from mortars.

At 2340, the Abkhazian side again began to shell the Shroma-Taman area using tanks, mortars, and grenade launchers. As from 0200, the opposing side used automatic weapons to shell Georgian positions.

In Tkvarcheli and Ochamchire Rayons last night, the opposing side, as it had often happened, tried to provoke conflicts. Using automatic weapons, they tried to attack the positions of the Georgian armed forces. No changes have occurred in the positions of the sides.

Abkhazia Blamed for Civilian Deaths in Sukhumi 5 Jun

LD0606154193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1509 GMT 6 Jun 93

[By unidentified correspondent of the Georgian News Agency for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi June 6 TASS—The command of the Second Corps of the Georgian Armed Forces blamed the Abkhazian side for civilian casualties in Sukhumi on June 5. A statement for the press circulated on Sunday [6 June] says that under the Moscow arrangement between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and head of the Georgian state Eduard Shevardnadze, the Georgian Armed Forces ceased fire from zero hours on May 20 along the line of the confrontation of the sides. However, the command of the Gudauty group violated the ceasefire agreement from time to time.

On June 4, Abkhazian armed units fired on Georgian positions for 24 hours from tanks, mortars, grenade launchers and automatic guns. From ten a.m. on June 5, the Abkhazian side opened the shelling of the populated localities of Shroma, Akhalsheni and Kaman. The shelling of residential quarters of Sukhumi was started at 13:20 on June 5, the statement says. More than 30 shells hit various places of the city, causing civilian casualties: four dead and six wounded.

The command of the Second Corps of the Georgian forces stated that the going by the actions of the Gudauty group, its leaders are not going to observe the ceasefire agreement. "Provocative sallies in zones of combat operations are being made to be used later for propaganda purposes and for accusing the Georgian side of violating the ceasefire agreement".

"It is leaders of the Gudauty separatists who must bear the responsibility for civilian casualties, destruction of Abkhazian cities and villages and for possible consequences," says the statement of the Georgian military command.

Further Reports on Situation in Conflict Zone

LD0706095593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0835 GMT 7 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shegoleva]

[Text] Sochi, 7 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—Georgian artillery again shelled the inhabited localities of Ochamchirskiy rayon, Pokvash, and Baslakhu this morning. The ITAR-TASS correspondent was told this at the press service of Abkhazia's Supreme Soviet. According to reports from the same source, at 1950 yesterday the Georgian side subjected the city of Tkvarcheli to massive shelling from howitzers as a result of which one child died and homes were destroyed.

The Georgian troops increased their fire in the eastern sector, according to a report from Abkhaz sources.

A report from the press center of the Georgian troops deployed in Abkhazia says that at 1915 yesterday the Abkhaz side carried out massive shelling of Sukhumi. About 100 shells exploded in the center of the city. According to reports from the Georgian side, three people were killed and 26 were injured.

Envoy Appeals For Help To Stop Sukhumi Shelling

LD0806110693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1038 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By GIA-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tbilisi June 8 TASS—Extraordinary and plenipotentiary representative of the head of the Georgian state Sandro Kavsadze today appealed to the world community and the neighbours of Georgia, especially Russia, "to react effectively and make the leadership of the Gudauta grouping stop its brutal shellings of Georgian citizens in the city of Sukhumi".

He noted that the assaults on Sukhumi had lately became much more intensive. "Right now, when I am making this statement," Kavsadze noted, "several destructive blows were dealt at Sukhumi. A shell has exploded in the building of the Abkhazian Council of Ministers. The armed forces of the Gudauta grouping are doing everything to provoke an adequate reaction of the Georgian Government troops, which means artillery assaults on the peaceful populations of Gudauta and Tkvarcheli."

"It is clear that the Georgian authorities are refraining from such actions, because there are Georgian citizens on that territory, too," Kavsadze said.

Georgians Reported Shelling Abkhazian Positions

LD0806111393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1107 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—The press service of the Abkhazian representative in the Russian Federation reports that Georgian troops continued shelling Abkhazian positions on the Gumista front. Fire was opened again on the seismic laboratory of the Russian Armed Forces. Georgian troops opened fire at 20 hours on June 7 from "Grad" missile launchers at the town of Novy Afon, damaging the Simon Kanonit Christian temple, one of the most ancient in Transcaucasia. According to the same source, Georgian troops subjected to heavy shelling the village of Labra in Ochamchiri district on Tuesday [8 June] morning. Positional battles are under way.

Shevardnadze's Involvement in Chechen Plans Denied

LD0606194993 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1610 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] [No dateline as received] On 5 June, the press secretariat of the chairman of the parliament of the Republic of Georgia, Eduard Shevardnadze, denied an allegation by Dzhokhar Dudayev, president of the Chechen Republic, broadcast by the "Novosti" program, concerning the Georgian head of state's involvement in Russian special services plans to overthrow the Chechen authorities.

The press secretariat is authorized to state that the above allegation by President Dudayev can only be puzzling, since despite some complications in relations between Chechnya and the Republic of Georgia, due to certain events in the past, our country strictly adheres to the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of another state and is in favor of maintaining goodneighborly relations with the Chechen Republic.

Sigua Receives U.S. Humanitarian Aid Mission

LD0506153293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0200 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Georgian Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua met members of a U.S. humanitarian mission. Sigua informed the visitors about the political and economic situation in Georgia and answered questions.

A coordinator of U.S. humanitarian aid in the former Soviet Union [name indistinct] said: The target of our mission transcends the limits of humanitarian aid. We can provide other kinds of aid to Georgia, but our activities will be limited for the time being because of the political instability. I hope that the difficulties that Georgia is experiencing are temporary. We want to support Georgia during this difficult period.

The visitors showed interest in the issue of settling the Abkhazian conflict. It was noted that the conflict is considered important to the activities of various international organizations.

In conclusion, Mr. [name indistinct] expressed hope that the U.S. Embassy in Georgia will contribute further to the extension of relations between the United States and Georgia.

Armenian Military Experts Visit Abkhazia

LD0506173193 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1827 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Recently a delegation of military experts from Armenia arrived in Sukhumi. The aim of the visit is to examine living conditions of ethnic Armenians residing on the territory controlled by Georgians, to coordinate its activities with those of the local authorities, and to evacuate the population of the village of Atara in Ochamchire rayon.

A news conference was held in Sukhumi that summed up the activities of the Armenian delegation. It was stated that the population of the village of Labra is in the most grievous situation, the village being under the control of both sides and that there is no real power in Sukhumi capable of ensuring the safety of the inhabitants.

The speakers stated that the evacuation of the population from Abkhazia suits neither Armenia nor the majority of the Armenians living in Abkhazia. On territory controlled by the Abkhazian side, Armenian units guarding Armenian villages have been established.

'Round Table' Members Forcibly Arrested, Later Released

AU0706122293 Tbilisi 7 DGHE in Georgian 4-10 Jun 93 p 2

[Tea Rusitashvili Article: "'I'm Sitting in the Prison Tower... .'"]

[Text] **Meeting Place—Police Department.**

On 2 June, a regular "session" of "Round Table" organizations [loyal to ex-president Zviad Gamsakhurdia] was planned to take place in an apartment located in David Aqmashenibeli Square [Tbilisi]. As we were informed from unofficial sources, four persons in civilian dress armed with machine-guns broke into the apartment. They did not present their identification documents. They explained that they were from the police. They forcibly took 32 "Round Table" members attending the "session," including Irine Taliashvili, Nugzar Molodinashvili, Tengiz Kikacheishvili, Avtandil Rtskhiladze, Bidzina Giorgobiani, Robert Petriashvili, and others, to the police department in David Aqmashenebeli Square. The prisoners declared a hunger strike and continued the "session" in the police building itself. People, in the main, Gamsakhurdia supporters, gathered outside the building. Later, David Zeikidze, head of the city police administration, arrived at the police department. He apologized and, following a talk that bore an ideological character, released those who had been arrested.

Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] David Zeikidze explained that the police have the power of temporary detention in order to ascertain and verify a person's identity. In this case, the police received information about the gathering of suspicious persons in the aforementioned apartment. On the arrival of the police, members of the "Round Table" tried to hide certain facts. As a result, the suspicions of the police were aroused and, on this basis, they were obliged to arrest the Gamsakhurdia supporters. According to Batoni Zeikidze, there was no infringement of the law and nothing alarming happened.

Estonia

Tallinn City Council Seizes Russian Military Housing

WS0706100793 Tallinn BNS in English 0756 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Tallinn, June 04, BNS—The Tallinn City Council clamped down on the activities of the Russian army in Estonia by taking over officers' flats and canceling Russian military registrations.

The council decided Thursday [3 June] to take over the dwellings currently at the disposal of the Russian military. The Tallinn Municipality will also compile lists of people related to the Russian military and submit them to the Migration Department by Aug. 1.

"The Tallinn City Council is worried because the Russian army has started to recruit mercenaries from among the local Russians. Therefore, the decision will also concern the employees and workers of the Russian army," said city counselor Andres Kollist.

"I have got information that riflemen are being recruited as mercenaries," he said. "The fact that the Russian army is recruiting mercenaries from among our compatriots is absolutely unacceptable."

The registrations of the Russian military and their families in Tallinn were canceled. Just the visas, residence and work permits remained valid.

All registrations and re-registrations to the living space of the enterprises of the Russian Defense Ministry and military industry were also canceled.

Illegally occupied flats may be vacated with police force.

It was suggested that the migration department issue permits for a six-month stay in Estonia. The Russian army officers, their families, army employees and retired officers may be asked to show the permits after Sept. 1.

The Tallinn registration offices can register the Russian army officers and their families out of the flats they are not using.

There is no survey of the living space at the disposal of the Russian military and their families, said council members. That, they said, was the reason for their decision.

"The government is discussing a similar bill," said Kollist. "I presume that this decision of the Tallinn City Council considerably facilitates the government's task."

Luik Leads Delegation for Talks With Russia

WS0806083793 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0658 GMT 7 Jun 93

[From the press review citing PHAPEVALEHT 5 Jun, p 6]

[Text] The next round of Estonian-Russian negotiations is to begin in Nakhabino near Moscow today. The Estonian delegation left for Moscow on Sunday [6 June].

Head of the delegation Juri Luik said that the main issues will be the traditional ones - troop withdrawal, the nuclear reactors in Paldiski etc. He added that Russia has displayed considerable diplomatic activity after the last round of talks and has referred to a possibility of withdrawing the remaining units from Estonia within 1993. "This deadline seems to be more realistic than the previous ones and hopefully it can be discussed in Moscow," Luik commented.

Luik added that practical troop withdrawal problems will be discussed with Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Navy Admiral Felix Gromov. Other issues include illegal flights over Estonian territory and various other violations of Estonian sovereignty.

Defense Observers Leave for NATO Naval Maneuvers

WS0806092793 Tallinn BNS in English 1923 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Tallinn, June 07, BNS—Representatives of the Estonian Defense Ministry and the Border Defense Department left Monday [7 June] to observe the NATO naval maneuvers Baltic Operations '93.

The maneuvers start Tuesday south of the Straits of Denmark and move to near the island of Bornholm and the coast of Poland. They come to an end near the coasts of Latvia and Lithuania June 11.

Foreign Ministry Consultant Aho Rebas told BNS that the maneuvers target rescue service training, sea border control and war tactics.

Estonia and Latvia take part in the maneuvers as observers; Lithuania, Poland, Finland and Sweden attend with their ships. The drills were organized by the European army command of the U.S. Naval Forces. Some 11-12 large and 4-5 smaller warships, and more than 10 helicopters have joined the program.

The Estonian Defense Ministry is represented by naval forces expert Edgar Haavik and naval department deputy Juri Kreek.

Advertising Contract Signed With NEWSWEEK

WS0806083393 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0658 GMT 7 Jun 93

[From the press review, citing RAHVA HAAL 5 Jun p 1]

[Text] State Secretary Io Kaevats and Editor-in-Chief Tarmu Tammerk of the English-language newspaper THE BALTIC INDEPENDENT signed a contract on gathering advertising materials for the Estonian edition of the US magazine NEWSWEEK. The Estonian edition is to be published this autumn as a 16-page separate

booklet, 6 of which will include advertisements. The main subjects will be the monetary reform, economic development, tourism etc.

The NEWSWEEK journalists are to arrive in June. "We expect it to be a powerful shot in our economy," Kaevats said. "Other countries' experience shows that such projects are an efficient means for attracting foreign investors."

The Estonian government will receive 15,000 copies for distribution. The Estonian edition will be published in Europe on August 30 and in North America on September 7.

Latvia

Press Briefing Reports Provisional Election Results

LD0706201193

[Editorial Report] Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian at 1100 GMT on 7 June starts to carry a live broadcast of a news conference given by the Latvian Central Electoral Commission at the House of Journalists. The conference is opened and chaired by Anta Busa.

Atis Kramins, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, speaks on the electoral process. Silvija Dreimane, secretary of the commission, then reports on the election figures in detail. She says that the last election district report was received at 0640 this morning, and that 1,119,390 of the total electorate of 1,245,530 voted in the country's 38 election districts.

Dreimane goes on to say that in calculating the 4 percent barrier, the 23 voters in Finland [as heard] have not been included, as their documents only arrived this morning. She then reads out the list of parties whose vote exceeded the 4 percent cutoff: the For Fatherland and Freedom alliance, 5.36 percent; Latvian Peasants' Union, 10.64 percent; National Independence Movement, 13.35 percent; Democratic Center Party, 4.76 percent; Union of Christian Democrats, 5.01 percent; Harmony for Latvia/Renewal for National Economy, 12 percent; Equal Rights Movement, 5.76 percent; and Way of Latvia electoral union, 32.38 percent.

An unidentified member of the Central Electoral Commission then reminds those present that these results are not official but provisional. He says that the official report will be issued after receiving all original data from the polling stations at home and abroad, when proper calculation will be made and an official report on the Supreme Council composition will be given. Other commission members speak on the good work of polling station workers, and the work of foreign observers.

A journalist from the LATVIJAS JAUNATNE asks the Democratic Center Party about any recent consultations with other forces on possible collaboration. Minister of Economic Reforms Kreituss replies that this morning the Latvian National Independence Movement and the Way of Latvia expressed willingness to form a coalition, but there is no commitment.

Another journalist notes that the foreign observers regarded these elections as lawful and free, and asks party representatives for their assessment or complaints. Dimanis of the Equal Rights Party replies: "We can only repeat what we have said up to now, that we cannot consider these elections as democratic, because one-third of Latvia's inhabitants of voting age were excluded from these elections. I think that, I hope that, in the sixth Supreme Council elections all permanent inhabitants of Latvia, who will have Latvian citizenship, will participate. Thank you."

Irina Litvinova of IZVESTIYA asks: "Would you, please, say why one of the Equal Rights candidates is now in prison? I refer to Alfreds Rubiks. My question is addressed to Gvido Zemribo. Would you tell me, if he is elected will he be released from prison? What is the procedure of our law? Thank you."

Zemribo, a member of the Central Electoral Commission, replies that the application of restraint upon Rubiks was decided at the Supreme Court, and adds that he himself can only express his personal opinion, as the matter is up to the specific judge and court. He goes on to mention a similar case more than 10 years ago in Great Britain, when an inhabitant of Northern Ireland who was in prison was elected to Parliament; he thinks that if candidate Rubiks is elected, the Supreme Council will deal with the question. With this question the press conference concludes at 1151 GMT.

The studio announcer then says: "The Central Electoral Commission furthermore reports that after the elections the government will continue to work until 6 July. A plenary sitting of the new Supreme Council is expected at noon that day, at which the prime minister must be appointed. He will form the new government."

Elections Said 'Free, Independent'

WS0806100293 Tallinn BNS in English 1840 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Riga, June 07, BNS—With its first democratic election since independence under its belt, Latvian election observers began their congratulations on a job well done.

The June 5-6 Saeima elections were free, independent and democratic, chief delegate from the Council of Europe, Lambert Keilchterman, said during a press conference Monday [7 June].

"I have participated in many elections, including Bulgaria, Croatia and Slovenia, however, Latvian elections left a very good impression," Keilchterman said.

Keilchterman said he noticed just a few infringements of the election code: in one polling station a family had simultaneously occupied the same polling booth, in

another the seal of a ballot-box was damaged and still other places the rooms were so narrow that voters had to queue outside.

The Council of Europe group of observers will compile a report to the CE. The report will serve as one of the criteria to decide on Latvia's acceptance to the CE as a full-fledged member.

The international observers met in Latvia with parliament and government officials, foreign diplomats, mass media representatives and politicians.

Regional Television Begins Broadcasting From Rujiena

LD0706223693 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 2100 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Text] Regional television has begun broadcasting from Rujiena. Only a temporary transmitter of very small power is being used at the moment. However, it is planned that very soon a permanent transmitter of considerably greater power will be installed. It will be possible to pick up the station within a radius of 20 km.

More than 220 subscribers have already registered with the new television station. They have the opportunity to listen regularly to various local announcements, commercials, and advertisements, and to watch films.

It is also envisaged setting up in the near future a Rujiena regional television news block. Several companies have rendered financial assistance to the local television station.

Lithuania

First 100 Days of Brazuaskas Presidency Examined

LD0406223293 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 1900 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Yesterday was Mr. Algirdas Brazauskas' 100th day in the presidency of Lithuania. How do Lithuania's prominent people, including the president himself, evaluate this period of his office? Here's Andras Puskinius with a report:

[Puskinius] Speaking on Lithuanian national television yesterday to mark the 100 day anniversary of his presidency, ex-leader of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party, Algirdas Brazauskas, was rather optimistic while evaluating the changes in the country's economy that took place over the last few months. The president expressed conviction that the Lithuanian industries had started to stabilize; many enterprises had been recovering, seeking alternative sources for materials, looking for new partners and wider markets. According to Mr. Brazauskas, trade has picked up by 60 percent over the first five months of the year. Now exports to Western states make up almost one-third of Lithuania's (?oil) exports. In the president's opinion, this [words indistinct].

Mr. Brazauskas expressed the hope that the situation in Lithuanian agriculture would also improve. The spring sowing was successful due to the industry of farmers and state subsidies, said Mr. Brazauskas.

On the other hand, the president admitted Lithuania was still facing a grave economic downturn; people's purchasing power had been decreasing. But it would be unfounded to blame these difficulties on the present authorities, Mr. Algirdas Brazauskas said.

[Begin Brazauskas recording, in Lithuanian fading to English translation] By saying this I don't only have in mind the present government but also its predecessor, the cabinet led by Mr. Bronislovas Lubys, which undertook its duties at the end of last year on 17th December. In my opinion only this date can be the starting point for evaluating the economic and political activities of those politicians who were elected in the last presidential election. And restoring the economy is not that easy after all. [end recording]

Speaking about the political life in the country Mr. Algirdas Brazauskas said that the relations between the majority of parliament, that is the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party, and the right-wing opposition (?were tense). Therefore, the president has to be a referee who in order to find compromises sometimes is made to undertake such measures as handing back to parliament some laws and other acts to be discussed and amended.

Reflecting on the achievements of Lithuania's foreign policies, Mr. Algirdas Brazauskas viewed as the most important event the full admission of Lithuania to the European Council and the fact that Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, who visited Vilnius in the middle of June [as heard], reassured Lithuania that Russia was determined to withdraw its troops from the country by the end of this September.

Speaking about other presidential duties, Mr. Brazauskas presented [word indistinct] with a series of numbers. Since inauguration day the president took part in

170 meetings with Lithuanian and foreign politicians, made speeches in (?nine) foreign countries. Mr. Algirdas Brazauskas received more than 1,000 letters from the electorate; about 4,000 citizens applied with various issues to the president's office. Mr. Algirdas Brazauskas granted by his bequeath [as heard] Lithuanian citizenship to 300 people and accepted than 1,500 applications to resume citizenship. The president considered 163 requests (?for) parliament, 24 of which were fulfilled. Mr. Brazauskas also presented 57 Lithuanian and foreign citizens with state awards for special services done for the Republic of Lithuania.

Seimas Acting Deputy Chairman Explains Resignation

LD0406153293 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Report by Algirdas Usas from the Seimas building]

[Excerpt] There were not many journalists in the new press hall today, but there were three speakers. The first to speak was Seimas member Egidijus Bickauskas explaining to journalists his statement yesterday on his resignation from the post of the acting deputy chairman of the Seimas. He said: I do not wish to be a toy in somebody's hands, either on the right or on the left. I do not like many methods in the work of the Seimas, especially the fact that many matters are solved in a narrow circle. In the past it was the Sajudis club, and now closed sittings by the Democratic Labor Party [LDLP] faction. Even now, in forming the new Seimas leadership, there have been no consultations or information about future plans. Perhaps this statement will compel the LDLP faction to think and give up its bulldozer principles. I well understand the political consequences of this action. I do not wish anyone to think that this is a step from the right, said Egidijus Bickauskas. [passage omitted]

Rejection of Rossiya Group Explained to Envoy

LD0406214893 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 1900 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] The Lithuanian minister of justice, Jonas Prapiestis, and the Russian ambassador to Lithuania, Nikolay Obertyshev, had an exchange of opinion on the legal situation of Russian citizens living in Lithuania and on the legalization of their public organizations in Lithuania. The refusal by the Lithuanian authorities to recognize the Russian citizens association Rossiya was a major topic of discussion. The Russian ambassador was told that the application for registration had been submitted by citizens of Russia, not Lithuania, which runs counter to the Lithuanian law.

Minister of Justice Jonas Prapiestis informed the Russian officials that six organizations of Russian-speaking people were registered in Lithuania. Among these are the Russian Cultural Center, the Association of Russian Language Speakers, and the Society of Russian Orthodox Religious Education.